Heritage and Destiny

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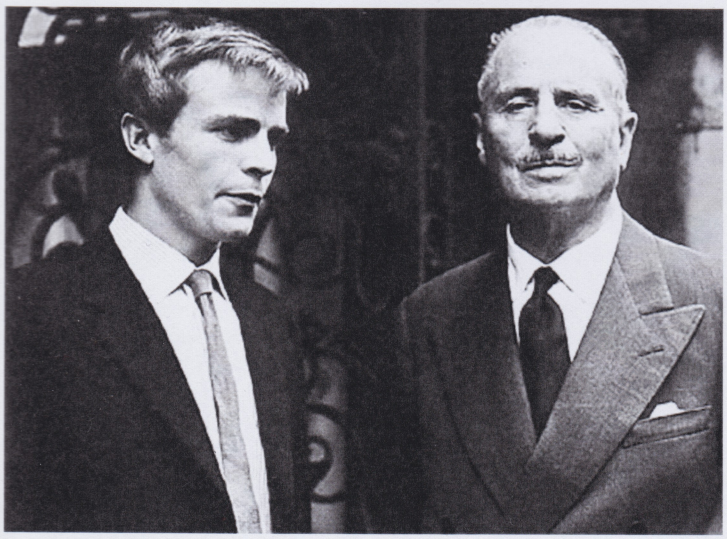
Britain votes to leave the European Union

Where now for UKIP and the Nationalist Movement?



also in this issue:

Max Mosley's autobiography reviewed

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and

***H&D* Patron Jock Spooner Remembered**

see pages 10-11

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Editorial

Welcome to issue 73 of *Heritage and Destiny*. Unionist MP Joseph Chamberlain once said, **"**I think that you will all agree that we are living in most interesting times.**"** Well after the murder of Jo Cox MP, just a week before Britain's historic referendum vote to leave the European Union, I believe really we do. Peter Rushton is going to write most of the editorial for this issue (which is going to run to two pages) and explain what actually happened when the White working class finally got off their backsides and gave the liberal-left establishment one mighty kick up theirs.

European federalism was a child of the Second World War, and it is surely no coincidence that the federal dream is dying just as the last Europeans with personal memories of active engagement in that conflict are also leaving us.

A small but influential group of European conservatives in the 1940s – mostly Roman Catholic – believed that a European project was needed not only to prevent a third brothers' war (having experienced two in their lifetimes), but to defend conservative policies in a world where the mainstream right had lost credibility. Some readers (and certainly most online conspiracy theorists) might be surprised to learn that the federal European dream (or nightmare) was invented by the capitalist right, not by the liberal or socialist left.

In 1975 Labour Prime Minister Harold Wilson called a referendum on Britain's membership, mainly to resolve a split in his own party where most of the left-wing element was hostile to what was then called the 'Common Market', viewing it (not unreasonably) as a capitalist club. That year 67% of Britons voted 'Yes' to Europe.

Yet by 2016 the whole notion of European Union was conflated with far more deadly threats – globalisation and mass immigration – amounting to the destruction of racial and cultural identity: paradoxically the EU became arguably the greatest enemy of the true Europe. It was this reality that led patriotic Britons to "Vote Leave".

Jo Cox MP (seen *above* campaigning at a local mosque during the 2015 General Election) was murdered a week before the EU Referendum. Thomas Mair (*left*) has been charged.

The 2016 referendum was called not from democratic principle but out of shabby political calculation. David Cameron feared that a haemorrhage of votes to UKIP would cost him the general election: during November 2012 Cameron's Tories had lost a by-election in Corby, a key Midlands marginal, with UKIP taking 14.3% and helping Labour win. A fortnight later the Tory vote collapsed in two northern by-elections, with UKIP finishing second. By New Year 2013, national opinion polls were consistently giving UKIP around 10% (sometimes as high as 15%) while the Tories were 10% or more behind Labour.

So it made electoral sense for Cameron in January 2013 to promise an 'in-out' referendum on Britain's EU membership, no doubt calculating that if he did remain in power after the following general election, it would once again be as a coalition partner with the Liberal Democrats: the referendum pledge would 'sadly' have to be sacrificed in the coalition agreement...

Perhaps to Cameron's surprise, his party won a working majority at the 2015 election, so he had no excuse for backtracking on his referendum pledge. Even so, with the backing of every other major party leader apart from UKIP, Cameron would have been confident of a majority for 'Remain'.

What went wrong or (from the point of view of most *H&D* readers) what went right?

The Remain campaign pitched almost all its arguments at Cameron's natural supporters – affluent conservatives – with parades of establishment 'experts' warning of the dire economic consequences that would follow 'Brexit'. Meanwhile a much smaller left-liberal campaign was waged mainly at younger voters with trendy arguments about 'inclusivity' and the benefits of immigration, backed by the usual gruesome gallery of multiracial pop stars and comedians.

About a fortnight before polling day it became obvious that the Remain campaign was in trouble: polls began to show a small but growing lead for Leave. Then came what seemed a disastrous blow to the Leave campaign: young Labour MP Jo Cox (a prominent Remain campaigner) was shot dead in her constituency, apparently by a disturbed individual with vague links to nationalist causes.

Aside from Irish republican terrorism this was the first politically motivated killing of a serving British MP since 1812. Within 24 hours of the murder, pro-Remain media outlets were shamelessly hyping

Heritage and Destiny

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the alleged killer's supposed 'nationalist' connections. (See the *H&D* website for a detailed exposé of some of the lies peddled by the 'anti-racist' Southern Poverty Law Center.)

Unsurprisingly there was a small but potentially crucial shift back towards Remain in the days following the Cox murder. Leave campaigners feared that young leftists – many of whom might not have been all that keen on the EU – as well as non-White voters who might otherwise not have cared either way, would be mobilised to vote Remain as part of a media-orchestrated backlash against a supposed 'racist' assassination.

Opinion polls reflected this changing mood, so that by close of poll on June 23rd even UKIP leader Nigel Farage was conceding that Remain had probably won a close contest. How and why did the polls – and even Farage – get it so wrong?

The answer is that the referendum campaign was won in areas of England where almost all the MPs are Labour, and where UKIP has scarcely a single councillor. Moreover these White working class areas normally have a low electoral turnout: experience has taught polling companies to factor in an assumption that most people in these areas will not vote.

Yet on June 23rd the White working class did turn out, in huge numbers: Britons whose only previous political relevance had been in occasional by-elections and local contests a decade ago (when they caused brief upsets by voting BNP) now caused the greatest political earthquake in British history.

Some of the famous Chelsea Pensioners – British military veterans – casting their referendum vote at a polling station in West London.

Some of the results were as expected (note that votes were counted in local government boroughs, except in Northern Ireland where it was by Westminster constituency). Every part of Scotland voted Remain, some by huge margins: the **City of Edinburgh** was 74% Remain, as was **East Renfrewshire**, a district on the edge of Glasgow. Scotland as a whole voted 62% to Remain, with a turnout of 67%. This was a contrast to the 1975 Referendum, when Scotland was much cooler on Europe than England, voting 58-42 in favour.

Similarly voters in Northern Ireland were 56% pro-Remain this year, whereas in 1975 there was a more even 52-48 split. As in much of Scotland, Ulster views were coloured in those days by the old (and not entirely inaccurate) perception that European Union was a Catholic conspiracy. Only 48% of Ulster voters turned out in 1975, perhaps reflecting the fact that this was the seventh province-wide vote in just over two years, but this year this rose to 63%. In both 1975 and 2016 the Catholic community was broadly united in favour of 'In'/'Remain', while the Protestant vote was split.

Voters in England and Wales have shifted in the opposite direction: from 1975's very enthusiastic support for 'In' to a clear vote for 'Leave'. Wales was 65% for In, but is now 52.5% for Leave; England was 69% for In, but this year voted 53.4% for Leave.

All this was predictable, as was the strong support for Remain in almost all areas of London. The capital's inner boroughs, where White voters are either very prosperous or young, heavily backed Remain: 79% in multiethnic **Lambeth**, 75% in trendy **Wandsworth**, 69% in ultra-affluent **Kensington & Chelsea**. Only the outer east fringe of London's boroughs, once BNP heartlands, backed Leave: 62% in **Barking & Dagenham**, 63% in **Bexley**, 70% in **Havering**.

Moving further east into Essex and Kent, we move into core UKIP territory, so again it was no surprise to see clear victories for Leave: 72% in **Thurrock**, 69% in **Basildon**, 73% in **Castle Point**, 69.5% in **Tendring** (home of UKIP's only MP Douglas Carswell) and 64% in **Thanet** (Nigel Farage's target at last year's general election).

Moving up the east coast into further UKIP strongholds, Leave won 71.5% support in **Great Yarmouth**, 75.6% in **Boston** and 70% in **NE Lincolnshire**. Midlands areas with established UKIP backing also swung behind Brexit: 67.6% in **Dudley**, 66.7% in **Sandwell**.

Here we begin to see the crucial factor, with industrial Midlands towns that have so far resisted UKIP and remained loyal to Labour in local and national elections, on this occasion voting Leave – a position backed by fewer than a dozen Labour MPs. **Coventry** voted 55.6% for Leave, **Wolverhampton** (including Enoch Powell's old constituency) 62.6%, and **Stoke-on-Trent** (once scene of a BNP insurgency) 69.4%.

Even the teeming metropolis of **Birmingham** voted Leave by the tiniest of margins: 50.4 - 49.6. David Cameron's few supporters in the Midlands included majority non-white **Leicester**, 51.1% for Remain, and prosperous **Warwick**, 58.8% for Remain. As these figures imply, wealth (as well as youth) were reliable indicators of a remain vote; ethnicity far less so. Anecdotal evidence suggests that in racially divided areas, Whites (for once) turned out far more strongly than ethnic minorities. It is also likely that numerous Asians voted Leave, believing that post-Brexit immigration policies would favour the subcontinent ahead of Eastern Europe.

Hence **Bradford** voted 54% for Leave, while wealthy nearby **Harrogate** was 51% for Remain. **Rotherham** (a rare example of UKIP success in the North) was 68% for Leave, while **York** was 58% for Remain.

Here we approach the decisive areas of the contest: boroughs on either side of the Pennines (and in the North East) where a Leave vote might have been expected, but the turnout certainly wasn't.

Sunderland (among the earliest results declared) was 61% for Leave – with a 65% turnout (compared to turnouts around 55% at the general election). **Oldham** was also 61% for Leave, with a 68% turnout, compared to just 40% who turned out at the Oldham West & Royton by-election last December.

Other former BNP strongholds also turned out heavily for Leave: **Burnley** was 66.6% Leave (67% turnout); even multiracial **Blackburn with Darwen** was 56% Leave (turnout 65%). Remain's few successes in the North were confined to inner cities such as **Liverpool** (58%), **Manchester** (60%) and by a fraction **Leeds** (50.3%), together with pockets of prosperity such as **Trafford** (58%).

England and Wales voted Leave not because voters had suddenly become passionately concerned about constitutional minutiae: the abstract notion of sovereignty (important though it seems to many *H&D* readers) is a marginal issue for most voters. Vote Leave was a proxy for issues where an arrogant liberal elite has – for decades, via all three major parties – scorned our people's interests and beliefs.

The destruction of Britain's manufacturing base, the rapacious gangster capitalism of the City of London, and successive tides of mass immigration: all helped build the movement of English and Welsh resistance. Yet within hours of the Brexit vote campaign leaders were emphasising that immigration would continue. Tory MEP Daniel Hannan (one of his party's best known leave campaigners, said: "Frankly, if people watching think that they have voted and there is now going to be zero immigration from the EU, they are going to be disappointed."

Hannan's fellow Tory, employment minister Priti Patel (who now looks set for promotion to the Cabinet of Cameron's successor), campaigned for Leave on the basis that post-Brexit immigration policy would favour Asians over Europeans. As far back as December 2013, UKIP leader Nigel Farage said in the European Parliament: "Let me make this clear to you: UKIP is not against immigration. We welcome immigration; we want immigration."

One thing is certain: voters will not tolerate post-Brexit Britain continuing with the same old policies. Will UKIP radicalise itself (in the manner of the German party *Alternative für Deutschland* – see page 23 of this issue)? Or must nationalism revive, to speak (if not for Britain) at least for England and Wales?

If you are an active Nationalist why not buy some extra copies of this issue to give out (or sell them!) at your next branch meeting – it's another great issue and should 'sell like hot cakes'! And as always we also need your regular donations – however large or small, every Dollar, Pound or even Euro counts. Please try and send in whatever you can afford. Thanks once again for your support, together we will win.

The Social Credit movement in Britain

It is not only possible to believe in Social Credit and to belong to the British Union; I go further and say that if we believe in Social Credit we must realise that only through British Union have we any hope of an executive instrument, through which a nation 'free of Usury' can be built...

Mosley, in his book Tomorrow We Live, *has laid down the following principles: 1. "British Credit created by the British people shall be used for British purposes alone." 2. "British Credit shall be no monopoly in the hands of a few people, and often alien hands at that, but shall be held in high trusteeship for the British people as a whole." 3. "British Credit shall be used consciously to promote within Britain the maximum production and consumption of British goods."*

These principles are designed to smash the power of the Usury system and to restore the creative power of British Credit to the British people to whom it belongs. When British Union wins power, the best minds of the nation will immediately be mobilised to implement in detail these principles. Among them will certainly be that honoured pioneer of new thought in this sphere, Major C.H. Douglas. It is as a member of the British Union, and also as a believer in the essential truth of Major Douglas's theory, that I write this pamphlet... British Union will finally end the Usury system...but for the method British Union will owe much to the thought of Major Douglas.

British Union and Social Credit,
by W.K.A.J. Chambers-Hunter (1938)

Social Credit demonstrators at the Palace of Westminster, London, protesting against the 1946 atom bomb tests at Bikini Atoll.

The "Third Way Resolvent Factor" economic theory of Social Credit (which is neither Socialist or Capitalist), was first formulated by the Scottish Engineer and Anglican, Major Clifford Hugh Douglas, the author of *The Monopoly of Credit*, *Economic Democracy*, *Credit-Power and Democracy*, *Social Credit*, *The Land for the 'Chosen People' Racket* and numerous other books and pamphlets. C.H. Douglas also published a weekly newsletter entitled *The Social Creditor*, which is still published today by the Social Credit Secretariat, the organisation he founded. Douglas Social Credit Groups were formed throughout Britain, and Major Douglas spoke at packed Public Meetings in the United Kingdom, the White Dominions and the British Empire, which he said was under threat from Bolshevism and Zionism.

"There is an unbridgeable gulf between Jewish Socialism and Social Credit; and we believe that it is also the root of the venomous hatred which Socialism and Communism display to Christianity and its outcome, European Culture." (C.H. Douglas, *The Social Creditor*, July 5th, 1947)

The one-armed First World War veteran and member of the British Union of Fascists, William Chambers-Hunter agreed 100% with Douglas's theory, but disagreed with him that Social Credit could be introduced without the need for a political party. Major Douglas also disagreed with John Hargrave, after Hargrave formed a British Social Credit Party.

The Threefold objective of the British Social Credit Movement was and is:

1. That the power of credit issue and withdrawal be taken from the Bank of England and vested in A NATIONAL CREDIT OFFICE.
2. A NATIONAL DIVIDEND based upon the productive capacity of the community as a whole as a flat-rate share of the Nation's Real Wealth be paid to every citizen, whether in employment or not, and over and above wages, salaries, or dividends from investments.
3. A SCIENTIFIC PRICE ADJUSTMENT to be applied so that people's buying-power can purchase the goods offered for sale. Prices will be prevented from cancelling out the increase in consumer purchasing-power, thus avoiding inflation.

Opponents of Social Credit who call it a "free money-for-nothing scheme" claim Social Credit has been tried in Alberta but that it "failed". In actual fact, the people of the province of Alberta voted for a Social Credit Government three times with big majorities, but their attempts to introduce Social Credit Money Reform were thwarted by the National Government, who ruled it "unconstitutional". The truth is that genuine Social Credit has never been implemented anywhere in the world, as the International Bankers, Financiers and Usurers would never allow it. Another criticism of Social Credit is that "no-one would work in a Leisure State with free money for all", which sounds rather good, doesn't it (!) In practice, as production increased, the National Dividend would also increase for everyone, on condition that the British people were willing to help production by working hard when your work was needed.

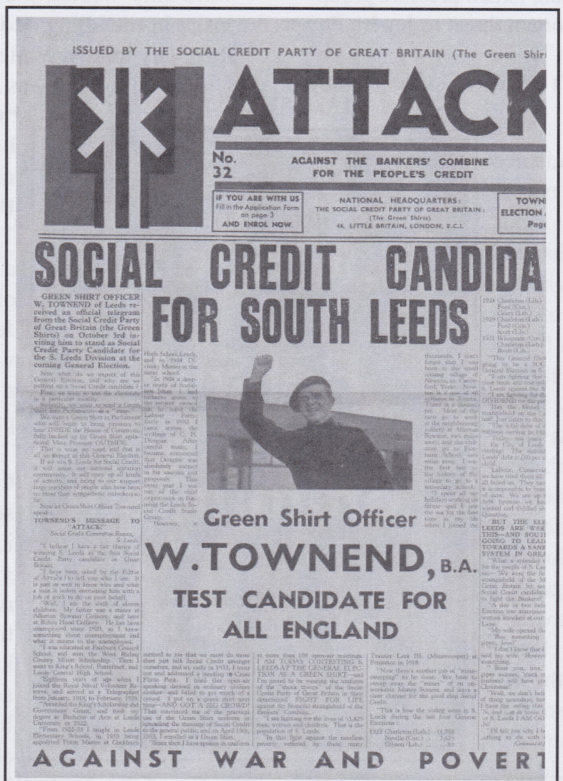
"In November and December 1932, Green Shirts had been active in attending Fascist indoor and outdoor meetings, asking questions and marching in rank formation. In 1933, Sir Oswald Mosley and John Hargrave corresponded and Green Shirts visited the B.U.F's 'Black House' H.Q. Mosley and an aide met 'White Fox' (Hargrave) at Green Shirt Headquarters to offer some form of amalgamation which was eventually decided against." (*Social Movements and Their Supporters: The Green Shirts in England* by Mark Drakeford)

John Hargrave was a leading member of Baden-Powell's Boy Scouts before breaking away to form his own Kindred of the Kibbo Kift, a Woodcraft and Camping movement dedicated to reviving the ancient and magical Anglo-Saxon-Celtic folkways of the British Isles, and the promotion of World Peace. At the Althing (National Assembly) of the K.K. in 1924, Hargrave expelled the rebel Socialist faction led by Leslie Paul, who went on to form the Left-wing Woodcraft Folk, after they failed to oust Hargrave in a coup as the leader of the Kibbo Kift. During the mid to late 1920s, Hargrave discovered Douglas Social Credit and he first launched the Legion of the Unemployed, and later the Green Shirt Movement for Social Credit, and finally the Social Credit Party of Great Britain in 1932. During the British General Election of 1935, the S.C.P.G.B. candidate Wilfred Townend polled 11% of the votes in Leeds South, which is not so surprising when his Manifesto offered "£300-£500 A Year For Every Family Over and Above Wages

& Salaries" – a huge sum in 1935! Unbelievably, both Douglas Social Creditors and Green Shirts were attacked by the Right as 'Reds' and also attacked from the Left as 'Fascists' and 'Anti-Semites'. Green Shirts were often forced to defend themselves from Communist physical assaults in London.

"At the May Day Green Shirt demonstration the main opposition came as a gnat-like swarm of Labour, Socialist and Communist hecklers. On two occasions the Green Shirt platform was rushed by the crowd who had identified the Green Shirts as 'Fascists'. The Green Shirts were attacked by a group of Communist supporters. The Green Shirts were followed by the Communists for about a mile, shouting 'Bloody Fascists' and so forth. At the Hyde Park Green Shirt demonstration a communist detachment charged at us. Hargrave was in the front rank. He put his shoulder back and threatened the Red in front of him. He wasn't averse to forceful action when it was necessary. At least 80 per cent of the Green Shirt Movement for Social Credit are wage earners and unemployed. Opposition from the Communists revealed nothing more nor less than a struggle for the leadership of the politically conscious wage-earning masses and the unemployed. The Communists are now proving a nuisance at all our meetings." (*Front Line* [Green Shirt journal], August 1932)

Unfortunately, there were also a few incidents of fights between Blackshirts and Green Shirts during the mid 1930s, despite them both being opposed to Usury and Communism. Despite this brief rivalry on the streets, a later Social Credit Party pamphlet published by Hargrave just before the disaster of World War Two entitled, *These Names Make Social Credit News* quoted Henry Williamson, Sir Alliott Verdon-Roe and Major-General J.F.C. Fuller approvingly, and these men were all prominent members and supporters of Mosley's British Union and post-war Union Movement. Williamson was a famous writer and the author of the popular novel, *Tarka the Otter*; Fuller was a military historian and an expert on the occult sciences; and Verdon-Roe was a pioneer in British aviation.


ISSUED BY THE SOCIAL CREDIT PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN (The Green Shirt

ATTACK

No. 32

AGAINST THE BANKERS' COMBINE FOR THE PEOPLE'S CREDIT

IF YOU ARE WITH US Fill in the Application Form on page 3 AND ENROL NOW.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS: THE SOCIAL CREDIT PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN: (The Green Shirts) 44, LITTLE BRITAIN, LONDON, E.C.1.

SOCIAL CREDIT CANDIDA

FOR SOUTH LEEDS

GREEN SHIRT OFFICER W. TOWNEND of Leeds received an official telegram from the Social Credit Party of Great Britain (the Green Shirts) on October 3rd inviting him to stand as Social Credit Party Candidate for the S. Leeds Division at the coming General Election.

TOWNEND'S MESSAGE TO "ATTACK"

Green Shirt Officer

W. TOWNEND, B.A.

TEST CANDIDATE FOR ALL ENGLAND

AGAINST WAR AND POVERT

A single Social Credit candidate stood at the 1935 General Election: local schoolmaster Wilfred Townend polled 11.0% in Leeds South

"The science of credit is the secret of the limitation of wars. Therefore I welcome Social Credit, because in the clearest terms it reveals this secret to all." (Major-General J.F.C. Fuller)

"Social Credit is the Good Samaritan on the road to world salvation." (Henry Williamson)

"I am in full agreement with the objective of the Social Credit Party to end the greatest fraud that was ever imposed on humanity and which is the root cause of economic distress, untold suffering, strife and war, namely: the creation of nearly all our money by the bankers and banks by means of book entries, which criminally negligent governments have permitted for many years, thus loading the people with unpayable debts and crushing taxation." (Sir Alliott Verdon-Roe)

"Let's turn to Nazi Germany for a moment. Hitler's economic advisers also 'knew all about' Social Credit. A year or so before the 1939 war broke out into its first 'phoney' phase a short summary of the technical basis of Social Credit as set forth by Douglas was sent to Göring's Economic Bureau at their request." (John Hargrave, *Cavalcade*, 8th May, 1948

While both John Hargrave and Major Douglas were critical of Fascism and National Socialism, they did urge Mussolini and Hitler to adopt Social Credit, as the only alternative to Capitalism and Communist Dictatorship. Hargrave believed that a "Social Credit elite" and an "United Social Credit Kingdom of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland" would replace the "International Financial Slavery of the Money Power". He also promoted eugenics to improve and elevate mankind. When Hargrave retired from politics in 1951 he embarked on a new career as an inventor and psychic healer.

(Source: *Designing Utopia: John Hargrave and the Kibbo Kift* by Cathy Ross and *The Kindred of the Kibbo Kift: Intellectual Barbarians* by Dr. Annebella Pollen)

The American Fascist poet, Ezra Pound also supported Douglas Social Credit and in his pamphlet *Social Credit: An Impact* he dedicated it to "The Green Shirts of England", and he and Hargrave corresponded from 1935-1939. Pound also contributed articles to Mosley's *British Union Quarterly* journal. Another supporter of Social Credit was the Duke of Bedford, a member of the Church of England and a Pacifist, who formed the original British People's Party (B.P.P.) with ex-Blackshirt, John Beckett during 1939, to oppose Jewish influence and War with Germany.

In modern times, there are two political organisations which lay claim to the B.P.P. name. One is a registered political party led by Andrew Stott (formerly the leader of the United People's Party and the Patriotic Socialist Party), which contests elections, has an elected councillor, Ben Marshall and promotes immigration control and debt-free Financial Reform. The other is a de-registered party which has previously contested elections, led by Kevin Watmough, and which is National Socialist.

The British Patriot and Catholic, Anthony Cooney edited the Social Credit/Distributist *Liverpool Newsletter* for many years, and he generously allowed various patriotic and nationalist groups to advertise in his publication, despite attacks from the usual 'anti-fascist' suspects. He also campaigned for St George's Day to be declared a National Holiday for England, via his organisation, The Gild of St George.

It will be interesting to see if a British Social Credit Party is ever revived to hold meetings, demonstrations and to contest elections. Incidentally, the Socialist Party of Great Britain has criticized the "infiltration of the Green Party by Social Creditors" (the Greens in Britain are now looking seriously at Money Reform). Today, the patriotic Sons of St George group is opposed to Usury and debt-based banking and they encourage their supporters to study Social Credit as a sane economic alternative for Britain, Europe and the World. Point 5 of S.O.S.G. Policy is committed to Economic and Financial Reform:

www.sonsofstgeorge.blogspot.co.uk/2014/05/england-awake.html

A reprint of the booklet, *British Union and Social Credit* by W.K.A.J. Chambers-Hunter is now available for £3.00 payable to:
League Enterprises, Suite 3, Third Floor, 148 Cambridge Heath Road, London E1 5QJ

www.stevenbooks.co.uk/economics-and-social-credit

For a catalogue of very rare and original British Union, Douglas Social Credit and Hargrave Green Shirt books, pamphlets, leaflets, newspapers and journals etc, send 4 first class stamps to:
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For an introduction to Douglas Social Credit see the booklet, *Social Credit: Some Questions Answered* published by the Social Credit Secretariat. Send £3.00 payable to:
The Social Credit Secretariat, P.O. Box 322, Keighley, West Yorkshire, BD20 OYE

www.douglassocialcredit.com

Roger Bartlett, Brighton, East Sussex

Book Review: *The Secret Behind Communism* by Dr. David Duke – Part I

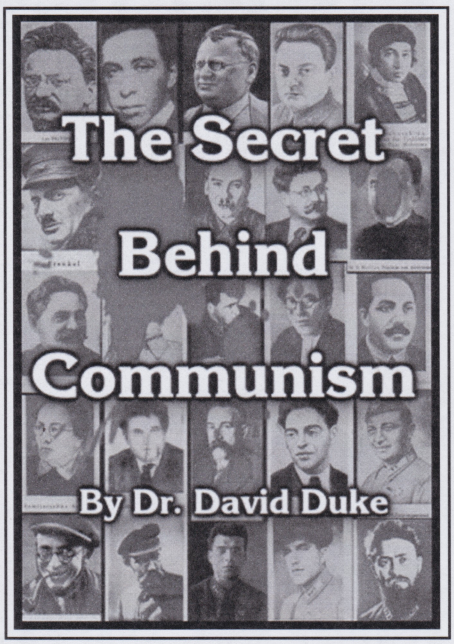
The Secret Behind Communism, by David Duke, Free Speech Press, 2013, ISBN 978-1-89276-601-1. 288 pages (hardback). Presently available for $29.95 from www.davidduke.com, or from PO Box 188, Mandeville, LA 70470, USA

"…The communist death toll exceeds the total of all [other] oppressive regimes in the history of mankind." – David Duke, *The Secret Behind Communism*

"David Duke is the most dangerous anti-semite in the world today." – Abraham Stein, Jewish Community Action, Israeli pressure group

[Translation: ''David Duke is the most important threat to Jewish Power in the world today."]

"How can you fight your enemy if you don't even dare to name him?" – David Duke



I once began a speech by telling the audience that I was going to read a list of the names and roles of a thousand of the most notorious Communists, and that the audience would have to guess what one thing all these Communists had in common. Thankfully the audience was an unusually enlightened and emboldened one and began to shout out the answer long before I'd reached the twentieth nauseous name on the list… yes: they were all Jews. Compiling such a list takes a lot of time and effort – with David Duke's new book however the job has just got a lot easier.

Most communists of course tried to hide their Jewishness from non-Jews (using various ploys including the use of *nom de guerres/nom de plumes* – e.g. Trotsky, real name Bronstein – and generally keeping their background and heritage a closely guarded secret) in a forlorn attempt to make the ideology more palatable to non-Jews. They also used the odd useful idiot non-Jew as a front man, *e.g.* Bakunin. No one was fooled then, nor should they be now. Much Communist Propaganda was only ever in Yiddish. Even the much vaunted "non-Jewish Lenin" spoke Yiddish as his first language as did his family. Outside Jewish circles the ideology was never popular. All the prime movers in the Communist movement were Jewish and even the useful idiot front men were invariably married to Jewesses.

This book reveals the true nature of Communism, but by so doing it also reveals the true nature of Jewish Supremacism. And in a supposedly post-Communist age this is the immense value of the book.

So what do we mean by Communism? Well we don't mean some sort of economic sharing out of goods, chattels or food temporarily in order to survive among marooned mariners, nor ownership in common ostensibly, so the archaeologists and anthropologists tell us, by some ancient societies and poor tribes, nor do we mean something akin to the *modus vivendi* of the Apostles, or the original Franciscans. (Not even the Franciscans could live like St Francis and had to make changes to the Rule allowing the owning of property, money and land.) Nor do I mean the mad rampages by frenzied Anabaptists in 16th century Germany, nor do we mean the utopian ideas of crazed Levellers in 17th century England in Cromwells time (though here we are getting closer) nor do we really mean poor misguided emotional Christians of nearer times (e.g. Charles Williams the third Inkling – Tolkien and CS Lewis being the others), mystics, drug addicts or other useful idiots who called themselves 'Communists', because it is/was fashionable to do so or because they sincerely thought that in theory it was a good idea or in theory it could be a more 'Christian', a fairer system than Capitalism was.

"An idea to be a great idea must be great both in theory and practice" – Dr David Duke, *The Secret Behind Communism*

Nor do I really mean those tin-pot tribalist regimes, which would willingly call their governments or movements whatever the stupid foreigners (USSR, USA or China) wanted them to, provided it meant their tribe would be left alone and/or that they would get money for their tribe. We don't mean some utopian dream, dreamed up by white men. Incidentally, from wisdom's perspective, of the three famous early modern utopias so dreamed – only Thomas More's *Utopia* really has any claim to the name utopia, because Francis Bacon's *The New Atlantis* has Jews in it and Henry Neville's *The Isle of the Pines* has negroes (and troublesome ones at that), whereas in Thomas More's ideal there were only Whites, though his island was not without faults, for it did insist in meddling neo-con style in other nations' affairs. Essentially then, any totally White society without Jews and Jewish influence is a Utopia – England was after all once 'Merry'.

"Communism is not an economic movement, but a racial movement. Communism cannot be understood, or dealt with, on any other basis." – Dr David Duke, *The Secret Behind Communism*

What we mean then by Communism is not a utopian dream, but a Jewtopian dream – the age-old dream where the Jews will rule over the non-Jews, but in its Communist version they will do so without the non-Jews being aware of it, essentially a Talmudic paradise where the Rabbinical trappings are dropped so as not to alarm the goy.

The Jews have always tried to increase their power *vis-à-vis* other ethnic groups and we see this in their practice of financially helping various rulers, kings and emperors in return for being granted concessions to trade, increased rights, the right to settle, protection etc. Regime change if the monarch proved unhelpful meant a different king. But we first see their money and influence actually creating and influencing ideologies and bringing about new sorts of regimes, 'non-monarchical', 'republican' or 'revolutionary', during the reign of Charles I. We see it in the funding of Cromwell's New Model Army, which led to Cromwell's victory over the King and the eventual return of the Jews to England.

This was a success and the Jews took note and improved on and refined the process (setting up and making good use of secret societies and Freemasonry to ensure they had useful and reliable non-Jewish servants to do their bidding) to bring about liberalism and eventually bring about the French Revolution as Nesta Webster has so ably documented and as even Winston Churchill admitted.

Napoleon was their puppet, and the chief result of his many international military campaigns was the unseating throughout Europe of monarchs, and replacing them with liberal regimes or puppet rulers whose chief concern was allowing the Jews more power, until that is he saw he was being used by the Jews, turned against them and promptly had his funding withdrawn and was destroyed by them via a well-funded coalition. From then on it was revolution all the way – the Jews had got greedy, and they were no longer content to work through puppets, whether monarchs or emperors, they wanted the power itself. Liberalism led to Revolution and Revolution led to more liberalism, which meant more power for the Jews. Jewish intellectuals wrote, talked and agitated for revolution and Jewish moneylenders and bankers provided the funds to make it happen. Regimes were pressured into becoming more liberal, which really means weaker, before to being overthrown.

The non-Jews however were uneasy with the fruits of these changes (just as they were uneasy living under Cromwell's depressing regime), and had to be placated by more and more regime change. Ever more was promised, ever more was left unfulfilled. "The next regime change will make it all well. The next one, the next one." The non-Jews became tired of the changes, tired of the liberalism and its 'liberty', which

in practice meant liberty to be uprooted and exploited by Jewish financiers. The non-Jews certainly saw little of the much promised 'equality' and 'fraternity', except to see their own leaders guillotined, or shot, or hanged and then to see them replaced by new leaders with strange alien faces and mannerisms. They were becoming restless.

Sensing this unease, the Jewish intellectuals (Karl Marx pre-eminent among them) and activists now wrote, talked and agitated about revolution, but not to bring about more liberalism and constant regime change, but to bring about completely new permanent 'revolutionary' or 'anarchistic' regimes that would usher in the end of the beginning-to-be-hated-liberalism and capitalism. Again the Jewish financiers, bankers and moneylenders provided the money to make these new revolutions happen. But these new revolutionary regimes wouldn't just kill off the top 1% of the non-Jews, in effect the non-Jewish people's leaders, but the whole leadership class and indeed anyone with any leadership potential at all, because only that way would they, the Jews, be permanently sure of their newly acquired power.

This was the era of real Communist revolutions and the beginning of international terrorism, and it was Jewish to the core. The stereotypical fanatical Jewish anarchist throwing his bomb, shooting his pistol or stabbing with his dagger became the stock image of the day. Terrorist attacks even occurred in Britain, (e.g. The Tottenham Outrage and The Siege of Sidney Street), carried out by Jewish refugees from an enraged Continent. But on the whole Britain got off lightly: after all there was no need to overthrow the British regime as it was already well under Jewish control. Many of these revolutionary attempts throughout Europe failed, but did lead to further liberalisation by the Governments concerned in an effort to stave off further revolutionary unrest, liberalisations that actually only weakened traditionalism and the State and merely encouraged more revolutions.

Russian Jews demonstrating in March 1917 in favour of communist revolution, with Yiddish banners reading 'Long Live the Universal Workers Union' and 'Long Life to the International Proletariat'.

And eventually here and there they succeeded (monarchs abdicated with suspicious speed), primarily because we were not ruthless enough, for we had been weakened, as had always been intended, by, as John Tyndall used to say, that twin sister of Communism – Liberalism.

It is at this stage in Russia – anarchist assassinations, and the alternation between failed revolutions and liberal reforms aimed to stave off further revolutions (but only weakening the regime further and encouraging further revolutionary attempts), where this book begins. It then goes on to follow the history of Communism, through the successful revolution of 1917, the Russian Civil War – really a civil war between Jews and non-Jews – the Holodomor and other genocides carried out by the Communists against any people that dared, to or might dare to, stand in the way of 'progress' – again really nothing other than Jews genociding non-Jews.

The Second World War saw a continuation of this policy, with more genocides being carried out against anti-communist peoples especially Germans. Then comes The Cold War, the Western 'Reds under the Bed' spying scandals – again all primarily Jews; then the role of the Communist Party – Jews leading negroes – in the undermining of South Africa, right on up to the makeup of the Communist movement in the UK and the USA today and the world dominance of Cultural Marxism in academia, mass media, social and cultural policy and politics, which can be explained by as Duke so rightly says, 'Jewish Tribalism'.

"The Jewish domination of Harvard is not due to greater merit or ability, but achieved by naked racial discrimination against better-qualified European and Asian Americans. Jews are admitted at a rate more than 14 times, or 1,300 % greater than their merit justifies." Dr David Duke, *The Secret Behind Communism*

It ends with a look at the Jewish 'road to Damascus' moment, where they realised that Capitalism was achieving their aims far more effectively than Communism was, the ensuing shift to drop overt Communism (except in the realms of academia) and morph into Neo Cons and outright Zionists, using well-funded non-Communist 'Velvet Revolutions' to achieve their aims of further liberalism where other methods would not work.

Looked at from the long-term view, the Communist Revolutions were just a rather longer-lasting revolutionary episode in the Jewish *modus operandi* of using revolutions followed by liberalisation to bring about the sort of liberal society in which they feel safe and invisible in, and of course supremely powerful in.

There are also revealing sections on the widespread awareness of the Jewish nature of Communism, right from the beginning, among intelligence agencies, statesmen and journalists and how this knowledge was suppressed by the powerful Jewish interests of the day and how it continues to be suppressed right up until the present time.

It is a sobering thought that there has never been a Hollywood blockbuster on the evil of Communism, nor will there ever be, as long as Hollywood remains Jewish. Extravagant museums and monuments to the so-called Holocaust are springing up everywhere like poisonous mushrooms, but not one exists to the genocides carried out by Communism. The Holocaust dominates the compulsory national curriculum of most white countries, and doubting the establishment approved view of the Holocaust leads to severe punishments, whereas, bizarrely, the genocides carried out by Communism are compulsorily ***not*** on the national curriculums, and drawing attention to these genocides will invariably lead you to severe punishments. Hypocrisy and double standards have long been the order of the day with different rules being applied without so much as a blush of shame whether the Jews were the victims or whether they were the perpetrators.

"He who controls the present, controls the past, and he who controls the past, controls the future" – George Orwell, *1984*

All this whitewashing and covering up of Communism's crimes by the mass media, Hollywood, the political classes, the publishing industry and academia, should be enough to send questioning alarm bells ringing through the minds of anyone with a mind.

Duke also looks at the key role non-Chinese Jews played in Chinese Communism, *e.g.* the first Minister of Health in Mao Tse Tsung's government was an Austrian Jew called Jakob Rosenfeld, aka General Luo. Trying to uncover the Chinese converts to Judaism, and their influence in the Chinese Communist Party is an almost impossible task as Revilo P Oliver once admitted.

To the outsider Russian history seems a messy maze, but Duke has the rare ability bring out the salient points, and as Russia is so key to understanding Communism it will be well to give a brief overview of the main events.

To begin, it must be borne in mind that about 7 million Jews lived in the Russian Empire and that these all lived in the urban areas where they formed a well organised and sizeable proportion of the population and where they dominated the professions and economy – seven-eighths of the professional classes were Jews. Most Russians lived in the rural areas of the Russian Empire, 85% of the entire population in fact, but these took no part in politics. Almost no Jews lived in rural areas.

Tsars Alexander I (1801-1825) and Nicholas I (1825-1855) allowed the Jews to have more power, Alexander II (1855-1881) continued this trend, but in the manner of "give them an inch, they'll take a mile", he did not go fast enough for their liking and so he was assassinated by them

in 1881. This assassination woke up many Russians to the precise nature of the enemy within. Alexander III (1881-1894) reacting to Russian outrage brought in the mild "May Laws" to protect non-Jews by placing limits on Jewish power – which basically meant Jews weren't allowed to control, own and dominate absolutely everything, which they weren't far off doing anyway. The Jews (both in Russia and worldwide) reacted to this with fury, and an era of international economic boycotts and propaganda directed against Russia began: an unofficial civil war within Russia between Jew and non-Jew commenced. This escalated when the gentle Nicholas II came to the throne in 1894.

The Jews sensed the new Tsar's weakness and escalated their campaign of anarchist terrorism: from 1901 onwards it gathered pace assassinating dozens of Government ministers and officials. 1905 saw a failed revolution, which the Tsarist Government attempted to placate by establishing the Duma (a sort of liberal parliament). 1906 saw another insurrection, and the Tsar in a rare flash of sense brought in Peter Stolypin to head a generally wise government that sought to genuinely help non-Jews and peasants on the one hand and to curb Jewish excesses on the other. In Jewish eyes of course he was evil for he failed to accede to their god-given right to rule. 1907 saw the famous Communist London Congress – as mentioned before Communists, despite the objections of foreign governments and the local police and security services, were allowed to operate freely here and to plot and plan to their hearts' content. In 1911 the Jews assassinated Stolypin and Russia began to lurch towards complete anarchy. 1917 actually saw three revolutions not one – the March revolution, the July Days failed Bolshevik uprisings, and the October revolution which saw extremist Jews replacing moderate Jews. (The Menshevik vs Bolshevik clashes were actually an intra-Jewish civil war within Communism.) The Tsar abdicated as a result of the March revolution – why he didn't retreat from St Petersburg to Moscow and continue the fight can only be explained by weakness and the enervating effects of liberalism. We see the same pattern throughout Europe in the face of Communist revolution – monarchs and emperors abdicating without a fight, governments fleeing without a fight, almost as if the non-Jews had begun to believe the Jewish propaganda of the inevitability of Communism and the inevitability of the Talmudic vision of a Jewish world empire.

The Jewishness of the Mensheviks is obvious from this photograph of Pavel Axelrod, Julius Martov and Alexander Martinov in Stockholm, May 1917.

The immediate result of the March Revolution was the formation of a Provisional Government whose first act was to allow 90,000 hardened professional Communist revolutionary Jews to return to urban Russia from exile in Siberia and abroad. Their return led to the failed Bolshevik uprisings of the July days and then the successful Bolshevik Revolution of October where the Bolsheviks replaced the provisional Duma. 1918 saw the urban areas of the Russian Empire indulge in a civil war among Jews, primarily between the Socialist Revolutionary Party vs the Bolsheviks: Jews killing Jews for the right to rule the Russian Empire, with non-Jews looking on bemused and wondering whether this wasn't all a bad dream. The Bolsheviks gained the upper hand and launched the Red Terror to kill anyone who objected to their dominion.

At this stage the non-Jews, who became known as the Whites, belatedly pulled their addled wits together and decided they weren't going to allow a bunch of psychopathic aliens to rule Russia. Thence followed the Red vs White Russian Civil War – where the Reds received all the funding and weapons that money could buy, and more than they really needed to fight seventeen civil wars, courtesy of the Jewish network worldwide, and the Whites received next to nothing also courtesy of pressure brought to bear on national governments by the Jewish network worldwide. The result was never in doubt, particularly as many White leaders were ever so anxious not to appear anti-semitic. A few die-hard generals who weren't so queasy fought on – Baron Ungern von Sternberg being the last to go down, never surrendering and fighting on to the last and being revered today as the saviour of Mongolia, formerly known as Outer Mongolia – Inner Mongolia fell to the Chinese communists and is now predominantly ethnically Chinese and to all intents and purposes part of China.

The bedraggled remnants of the top 5% of Russian society that managed to escape the slaughter fled to China where they made a living from prostitution, or to the West where they endured poverty and penury and tried to warn the blissfully ignorant peoples there of the approaching danger. The failure of the Whites, and the reasons for their failure, was a lesson not lost on anti-communists throughout the world and was one the German *Freikorps* and the Italians particularly benefited from.

How on earth did a mighty nation like Russia fall to a bunch of Jewish communists? Truly, Liberalism had done its work well, it corrupted and weakened non-Jews and ditto society, while it gave the Jews more power. It is ironic that Liberalism always eventually leads to a Jewish run tyranny.

This general trend was quickened by the effects of the First World War – a war which Jewish influence was instrumental in getting Russia to fight. This war killed off many of the best Russians while at the same time Russian Jews were moved away from the war zone as a national security measure, which meant of course that their losses were minimal. The war led to upheavals in Russian society, with poor uneducated peasants streaming to the towns and cities in search of work in the munitions factories, peasants who were not used to Jews and easy prey for their propaganda. As with all wars the common people were impoverished and the Jews carpetbagger style and with their wheeling and dealing, made immense profits, which they used as a lever to obtain more power.

The outcome of this 1914-18 war across Europe was that old regimes – the Kaiser, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the British Aristocracy, and the Tsarist regime – were all destroyed and replaced by Jewish-friendly regimes, quasi-Jewish regimes or overtly Jewish regimes.

The lack of help Europe gave to the forces of Tradition in Russia in their death struggle with the organised forces of Jewry really was a crime. And the reason that help was not forthcoming is proof enough of worldwide Jewish conspiracy if further proof were still needed, particularly when we bear in mind that 1919, while the Russian Civil War still raged saw the Third International Conference take place, a conference which publicly approved the export of the Revolution throughout the world.

One could almost be forgiven for thinking that the powers that be in Europe actually wanted the Revolution to succeed and wanted it to be exported to their own countries. Once the Reds had won the Civil War in the early '20s, and finished mopping up in the mid '20s, they set about cementing their power and in the 1930s launched what became known as the Great Terror, (to distinguish it from the Red Terror of 1918 onwards into the 1920s): and this is when the Genocides began in earnest including the various genocides that made up the Holodomor in the Ukraine.

Jez Turner, London, England

Editor's note: Part II of this book review will appear in H&D *Issue 74*

The shape of things to come

Editor's note: Below is a speech given by NF activist Richard Edmonds to a meeting of the Yorkshire Forum, held in Bradford on February 6th. The meeting was a very successful affair, with around about forty in attendance.

Some years ago a good friend of mine said to me, "Richard, it is now a race between the White peoples waking up and their being swamped by endless waves of immigrants; an invasion planned, organised and facilitated by the party politicians and which will inevitably lead to the Whites being reduced to powerless minorities in their own countries."

At this meeting of the Yorkshire Forum, I would like to focus on the current refugee crisis in Europe; how to deal with it and how to turn it around. Whatever the motives of the German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, in grandstanding and expressing her sympathies for the Syrian refugees, Chancellor Merkel's clarion call, "All refugees welcome" has been heard worldwide and has set off an avalanche. Last year more then a million flooded into Europe, and now one of Merkel's own government ministers has warned that this year ten million are anticipated to come in response to Merkel's "All are welcome".

Somebody once said: in politics never let a good crisis go to waste. So can we turn this dangerous situation around and turn it to our advantage? This is the question. Let us step back and consider coldly and analytically what is being done to us.

In the last fifty years, White countries have been subjected to an unprecedented mass-immigration from the Third World. There are now millions of Asians and other Third-Worlders in Britain; there are millions of Arabs and other Third-Worlders in France; there are millions of Turks and other Third-Worlders in Germany, etc., etc. Fifty years ago these nations were White European countries, now they face a dark future.

In the last fifteen years, the American-led military alliance of NATO has attacked and destroyed one Muslim country after another: Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Syria, countries for the most part bordering the Mediterranean which is why it is so easy for the refugees and the immigrant hordes to flood across Europe's effectively undefended borders. As a matter of hard fact, we have never been given a satisfactory explanation for the destruction of these Middle Eastern states. The claims of Tony Blair and US President George W. Bush that Saddam Hussein's Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction have now been exposed to be cynically fabricated lies.

In all this, we should not forget the very dangerous situation in the Ukraine, located just beyond Poland. Two years ago the Americans instigated the violent overthrow of the legitimate government of the Ukraine, the murderous *coup-d'état* which brought down the democratically elected president of the Ukraine, Victor Yanukovitch. The riots were openly supported by the American government, who later claimed to have invested five billion dollars in this regime-change. Who can forget the comment of Victoria Nuland of the American State Department, present and active at the very centre of the insurrection: "if anyone criticizes what we are doing here, f**k them". These violent events have now led to the civil war which is raging in the East of the Ukraine, in which thousands have been killed and which has caused tens of thousands to flee their homes.

These American-NATO instigated wars are doubly dangerous. Firstly it is the terror and the destruction of these wars which is generating the millions of refugees. Consider the horror and terror of being bombed in one's own home; and for the survivors, they find themselves marooned in a destroyed state: the infrastructure of their town or village or city deliberately destroyed: no water, no electricity, no food in the shops, no law and order: their neighbourhood in the hands of armed gangs, gangs of criminals, gangs of religious fanatics: this is the fate visited upon the populations of Iraq, Libya, Syria by the American led NATO attacks: this is the terror driving the refugee crisis.

Secondly these American-NATO wars are doubly dangerous because we have not seen the end of them. The current US presidential elections are crucial here. I'll stick my neck out and make a prediction: candidate Donald Trump, brave man though he is, all-American hero and billionaire, the patriotic populist who speaks for millions, who opposes mass-Third World immigration into America, who wants to build a wall on the southern border of the US to keep out illegal Mexican immigration, Trump, who conscious of the security risk, wants an immediate halt to further immigration from Muslim countries, Trump who opposes the outsourcing of million of US manufacturing jobs to the cheap-labour countries of the Far East, this Donald Trump will never be elected president of the USA. Trump will be neutralised by the US Establishment, I believe, exactly as was fifty years ago the British populist, Enoch Powell. Far more likely to be elected as the next US president is a candidate to the liking of the US political and media Establishment: possibly Hilary Clinton... In which case, the agenda of the Globalists and the Internationalists will continue without interruption, and this will mean amongst other horrors, more wars, more destruction, more refugees, more mass-immigration.

With all this is mind, I was very happy to receive the invitation from the Yorkshire Forum, in order to present the solution to these problems. The solution takes the form of expressing our sincere sympathies for the refugees, and in addition we promote the only remedy: the ending of all American-NATO wars, in order that the refugees can return to their own countries and start to rebuild their shattered communities. And further these American-NATO wars have received the active support of successive British governments: Blair's Labour government supported the American attack on Iraq, the Liberal-Democrat Tory coalition government of Clegg and Cameron supported the American attack on Libya, and Cameron's government is now supporting the on-going American-NATO attacks against Syria; and indeed more than just support these wars, British governments enable these wars because the American military bases in Britain are indispensable for the launching of these wars. This all being so, it is the case that the British government owes financial compensation to the refugees, to help them return and to rebuild their shattered lives. Compensation, hard cash, together with repatriation: this is the solution.

This refugee crisis is a turning point in European history. Whatever one thinks of Angela Merkel and her invitation to the whole world, she is but a figure-head, the public face in Germany of the globalist and internationalist power dominating and ruling our world. This power is based upon the American led military alliance of NATO here in Europe. The way to destroy this power is to call for the closing down of NATO and the removal of the US military bases in Britain and in Europe. We are not alone here. The new leader of the Labour party, Jeremy Corbyn, recently called for Britain to leave NATO. We are at a turning point of European history here. When Corbyn made his statement, calling for a British exit from NATO, a British general threatened Corbyn, that should he ever form a government with the intention of pulling out of NATO, then Corbyn's government might face a mutiny from the British Army. As a matter of historical fact it could be said that the last time that the British army mutinied was with Oliver Cromwell and the English Civil War which ended with King Charles I being executed. One can see how high the stakes are here.

The role of the American military alliance was made clear at the time of the NATO attack on Yugoslavia and the bombing of its capital Belgrade in 1999 during the presidency of Bill Clinton, husband of Democrat would-be president, Hilary Clinton, when the supreme commander of NATO, US General Wesley Clark, stated that there was no place in modern Europe for ethnically pure states. With these threats ringing in our ears, let us quote that brave woman, leader of the French Front National, Marine Le Pen, who has called for France to leave NATO, because as she said: "The Americans are dragging us into a confrontation with Russia over the Ukraine. A war with Russia is the last thing that we need."

So in conclusion: Do we want ethnically pure states, a British Britain, a French France, etc., ***or*** do we yield to the NATO generals and to the party politicians and watch ourselves become powerless minorities in our own countries? This is the question.

Richard Edmonds, Croydon, Surrey

Richard 'Jock' Spooner (1943-2016)

Remembered by David Astin in Australia and a veteran British nationalist in England

Richard 'Jock' Spooner was born on March 29, 1943 in Norwich. His father, Horace 'John' Spooner was a bank manager, who retired after many years with the Abbey National Building Society. Spooner Senior was a speaker for Mosley in Croydon and once addressed over 8,000 people at a British Union rally in London. The family moved to Glasgow when Jock was a baby. During his teens the family moved to Birmingham. Jock got his appellation from his Brummie schoolchildren peers who thought that his Glaswegian accent was interesting and possibly exotic. His accent gradually evolved in the direction of Birmingham and then Australia, but he never, in all his days, learned how to whisper.

Leaving school rather than go the university route, which given his intelligence was open to him, Jock held a variety of jobs including one on the work floor at the BSA motorcycle factory. He was at BSA when Roy Orbison made his famous visit and was presented with a motorbike.

He then worked as *aide-de-camp*/PA/general factotum for one Seamus Dunleavy, who was a dubious businessman of Irish origin active in clubs in Birmingham. Jock learned to wear a dinner suit and mingled with the likes of 1950s US rockabilly star Eddie Cochran. Jock was with him only days before Eddie's untimely death in 1960. Jock then ran a taxi business in Birmingham, often telling tales of the adventures he had with some of his passengers who had developed a reluctance to pay their fare. Apparently, in those days the local Constabulary turned a blind eye to the various means of persuasion that were meted out with gusto to would-be fare-dodgers, many of whom as Jock observed were of "dusky" immigrant origin.

Jock Spooner in 2004, off South Island in New Zealand

The rising flood of immigration, transforming many British cities such as Jock's Birmingham, led him to take a stand with the Nationalist Movement, joining the then-rising force of the National Front in the early 1970s. Jock's commitment, drive and organisational abilities were rapidly recognised, and he became Chairman of the NF's thriving Birmingham Branch and Chairman also of the Party's West Midlands Regional Council. As a key figure in one of the strongest NF regions in the country, Jock was not slow to uphold the interests of the Party in the West Midlands against what were seen there as encroachments by HQ in London. As a result he frequently crossed swords with then NF National Activities Organiser Martin Webster.

A young Jock Spooner in 1960s Birmingham, where he was right-hand man to legendary club and casino owner Seamus Dunleavy.

As Birmingham NF Chairman, Jock worked closely with Birmingham Organiser Tom Finnegan, who remained a personal friend despite his defection in the late 1970s to the Conservative Party. As Jock predicted at the time, this "entryist" move proved futile. Tom did become Tory Candidate for Stockton South in the 1983 General Election, but the Jewish groups who constantly interfere in British politics inevitably spotted him. Proving that blood is thicker than ostensibly shared "right wing" views, Thatcher's sidekick, Sir Keith Joseph, himself Jewish, denounced Tom at an election meeting on the eve of polling day, causing him narrowly to fail to win the seat.

Within the NF Jock supported the modernising tendency around John Kingsley Read, who also became a good personal friend. This tendency was denounced by its opponents as "policy-trimming populists", out to water down essential Nationalist principles. Anyone who knew Jock, then or later, would be in no doubt that he was an outspoken hard-line Nationalist whose principles were sacrosanct and who would stand for no trimming of any sound Nationalist policies. Like most of that wing of the Party, Jock Spooner was no "policy-trimming populist", although he shared the view in those circles that the NF should make itself relevant to the era and area it now lived in, rather than flirting with futile nostalgia for failed foreign models.

When the division between the radical modernisers and the Old Guard around John Tyndall came to a head in November 1975, culminating in Tyndall's return to power backed by Andrew Fountaine's money bankrolling expensive litigation, leading to a Court order issued by a Jewish judge, Jock Spooner followed those who shared his principles into the National Party. However, at the same time he was developing a new career working on the oil rigs in the North Sea, which meant he was frequently away from Birmingham and could not play the key role he would have wished. This, as Jock himself admitted, in turn undoubtedly weakened the NP in the critical West Midlands region, which must have been a factor – although it was not a crucial one – in the Party's demise after 18 months. 18 months in which it nevertheless demonstrated the validity of its, and Jock's, position by winning two Council seats in Blackburn in May 1976, a feat the NF never attained and which was not to be repeated until Derek Beackon's historic victory for the BNP almost two decades later.

After the demise of the NP Jock ceased to be active in the politics of his native land. He moved from the North Sea to New Zealand, where he also worked offshore on a large gas pipeline. He then stayed briefly in Australia, but was served with an order to quit the country as he had allegedly overstayed his visa. Jock appealed, in the end successfully, but whilst this was being resolved he took the opportunity to travel to South Africa and Rhodesia. In the late 1970s, under civilized

White rule, these were safe and orderly countries, where Jock felt quite at home, mingling amicably with the locals. Jock in his later years constantly compared and contrasted his experiences then with the utter chaos, crime, murder and mayhem into which Southern Africa has sunk since it was surrendered to corrupt Black regimes.

He returned to Australia, this time entitled to live and work there. Indeed he eventually took up Australian citizenship, which like many Anglo-Australians he found entirely compatible with retaining the nationality of the Mother Country. Jock settled in the south-western Sydney suburb of Bankstown, then 90% White and a pleasant place to live, neither of which is the case today! He worked for over 25 years with the New South Wales Railways driving cranes and other heavy machinery, sometimes working a second job in factories to pay off his mortgage as soon as possible, thus enabling him to visit his beloved Britain and indulge his love of traditional British Real Ale. His motto here was "the More, the Merrier" which led to many table thumping nights with his old comrades, discussing politics. That was it for Jock – politics, always, politics.

Respected by his fellow railway workers, in the 1990s Jock became the Trades Union Representative on the NSW Rail Employment Appeals Tribunal, where he sat with an employer's representative and a judge. They travelled hundreds of miles, touring the State, sitting in courtrooms and similar places hearing employees' appeals against the railway's disciplinary actions and dismissals. Jock loved doing this, and was highly thought of by all sides in this role. His motto was "firm but fair". He also had a much-valued unofficial role with the Tribunal as Pub-Finder General, responsible for finding, if he did not already know, the best watering-hole in each town where the Tribunal sat. If the local pub served his favourite beer, Resch's, they (and the landlord) were in for a long night.

Jock remained an active Nationalist in his adopted land. He became an early member of the Australian political party AAFI (Australians Against Further Immigration) and assisted on a few polling days. He also made himself widely known and well-thought of in Australian Nationalist circles, where his wisdom drawn from long experience there and in Britain were much valued. Jock was also a long-standing patron of *H&D*, seeing this action as a small way to continue to support the British Nationalist cause.

Apart from politics, Jock's other passions were travel and studying history, and he certainly indulged himself there with visits to numerous archaeological and historic sites, especially Roman ones, in Europe, Libya, Egypt, Jordan and Syria. Jock was one of the last Westerners to see the ancient and magnificent Syrian city of Palmyra in all its glory, before the Sunni Islamist fanatics, unleashed on the area by deliberate US destabilisation of peaceful and prosperous Middle Eastern states which were thought to pose a threat to Washington's Israeli overlords, trashed the place. In his last years Jock would often share his experience of the welcoming, safe, Syria he knew, and the many local friends he made amongst its people, again contrasting it with the blood-stained chaos to which American meddling has brought that unhappy country, and many another.

Jock Spooner (*right*) with Dave Astin in 2004 at Sherwood Forest Visitor Centre, near Nottingham, in front of Robin Hood and Little John statue.

Friends and comrades of Jock Spooner toast his memory – at one of his favourite real ale pubs near Birmingham on the afternoon of his death, 4th March 2016

Jock also visited Poland, Germany and Czechoslovakia, and travelled extensively in the British Isles and as far afield as Sri Lanka. He even spent three weeks with some Australian friends in Cuba. But the Roman Empire was his greatest historical interest. It was always great sport to watch his blood boil when, after a few too many pints, one of his friends would ask the innocent question, first posed in Monty Python's *Life of Brian*: "So what have the Romans ever done for us?" He was also swift to leap to the defence of his historic heroes, such as Edward I, King of England. His lively and knowledgeable account of the 13th Century BC Battle of Kadesh, in which Pharaoh Rameses II fought the Hittites, delivered in his trademark generously audible tones, memorably enthralled an English country pub in which he sat at ale with an old NF comrade some years ago.

Indeed Jock's fund of anecdotes, reminiscences and tales from history made a drink in his company a never-failing pleasure up until his last days. Though woe betide you if it was your round and his glass was empty! His capacity for beer was legendary – in a memorable (possibly not for the participants!) day-long drinking competition to which Joe Pearce had challenged him on one of Jock's visits to England in the early 1980s, Jock eventually drank the much younger then Young NF leader, no teetotaller himself, under the table.

Jock was able to afford to retire about ten years ago and at last to indulge in Business Class and in the last few years, First Class air travel. Sadly his health was failing and he fought a gallant rear-guard action against many issues over his last 15 years. In 2008 he moved to Adelaide, South Australia, after multiculturalism finally closed its vice-like grip on Sydney, a city where he had lived for over two decades.

He died peacefully in his sleep on the 4th of March 2016 aged 72, happy to have done the things he did. Happy also that valued old comrades from England, including *H&D* Editor Mark Cotterill, travelled out to Australia to join him in one last session – in fact, Jock being Jock to the end, a few last sessions – down his local Port Adelaide pub. His good friend and neighbour in both Sydney and Adelaide, David Astin was with him to the end. He spoke to Jock the day before he died in hospital and as he left, said that they should start planning their next trip to England. Jock replied "that would be nice". David speaks for many who knew Jock when he paid this tribute: "It was a pleasure to have known Jock Spooner for 30 years. A true Nationalist and friend".

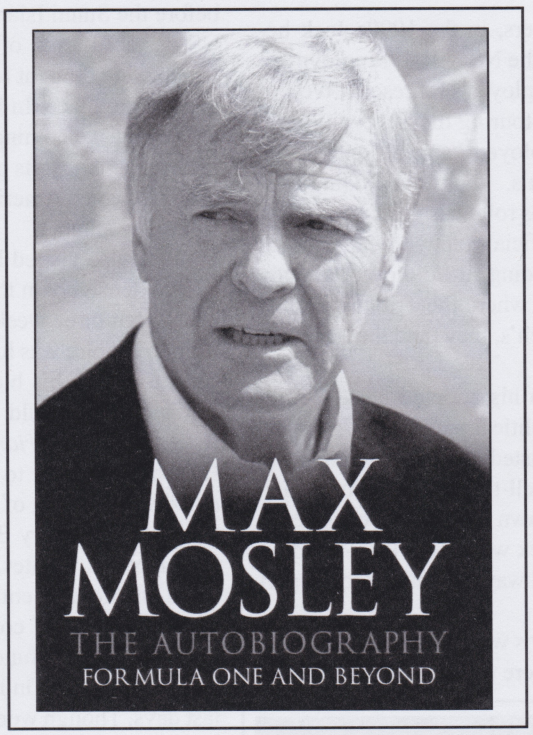
As the Romans he so admired would have put it, *Ave atque Vale*, Jock. Hail and Farewell, comrade and friend.

Book Review: *The Autobiography – Formula One and Beyond*, by Max Mosley

The Autobiography – Formula One and Beyond, by Max Mosley, Simon & Schuster, 2015, ISBN 978-1-47115-019-7. 496 pages (hardback). Presently available for £9.94 from www.amazon.co.uk or $11.54 from www.amazon.com, or from HarperCollins Publishers Ltd, Customer Services, Westerhill Road, Bishopsbriggs, Glasgow, G64 2QT (Tel: +44 (0)141 306 3100)

Max Mosley was only one month old when in May 1940 his parents were arrested and thrown into jail, without being charged, let alone tried and convicted. This was not in the Soviet Union or some banana republic, but in London – capital of a supposed democracy and centre of the greatest Empire the world has ever seen.

The reason for these arrests was that this Empire was at war with National Socialist Germany (and soon to be at war with Fascist Italy as well). Baby Max's father Sir Oswald Mosley and his mother Diana were prominent opponents of this ruinous war. Diana (one of the famous Mitford sisters) had travelled several times to Germany during the 1930s and had acted as a liaison between Mosley's British Union and German leaders including Adolf Hitler. Max's aunt Unity Mitford lived in Germany for several years and became a particularly close friend of Hitler and some other NSDAP leaders: she shot herself in an unsuccessful suicide attempt on the day Britain declared war on Germany, and died (never having fully recovered from her injuries) in May 1948.



Unlike many children of politically controversial parents (such as his own half-brother Nicholas Mosley or Francis Beckett, son of John Beckett – Sir Oswald Mosley's fellow former Labour MP turned fascist rival) Max has never distanced himself from them, though he ceased being politically active on his father's behalf more than fifty years ago and in some ways has more in common with the liberal left. Indeed in this new autobiography he touches very briefly on the question whether even his father should really be labelled as on the political right, let alone the far right: *I can only describe my father as I saw him. He was an excellent if rather distant parent who was always interesting, as well as interested, and I enjoyed his company. My political instincts from an early age can crudely be described as liberal and slightly left. To me, freedom and liberty of the individual have always been paramount. The imprisonment of my parents without charge or trial certainly had an influence on my thinking. When I first heard about the rule of law and discovered John Stuart Mill and his writings, I found some sort of intellectual basis for my instincts. But in my youth I nevertheless agreed with my father's ideas. If this appears contradictory it might perhaps seem less so to anyone who reads his books.*

Of course few readers of Max's autobiography will have had the chance to read his father's books: I recommend *H&D* readers to do so via **www.oswaldmosley.com** (original copies occasionally turn up at online booksellers).

Unlike his father, Max candidly admits that he had little interest in abstract political philosophy. As his later career has demonstrated, he was more interested in getting things done. His education was peculiar, influenced by his parents' state of semi-exile after 1950 in Ireland and France. Max suggests that the family's departure for Ireland five years after the end of the Second World War was in reaction to petty legal disputes: in fact it was also a consequence of the failure of Mosley's first postwar revival – the Union Movement campaigns of the late 1940s. These are not mentioned in Max's memoirs, though he does discuss the second Mosley revival (the UM campaigns of the late '50s and early '60s) in which he was himself involved.

Max and Alex were the sons of Sir Oswald's second marriage to Diana, who had herself been married briefly to the brewery heir Bryan Guinness with whom she had two sons, including future Monday Club chairman Jonathan Guinness. By his first wife Cynthia (known to her friends as Cimmie), who died of peritonitis in 1933 aged 34, O.M. had a daughter and two sons. During their father's wartime imprisonment two of these were adult: Nicholas Mosley (now Lord Ravensdale) served in Italy with the Rifle Brigade and won an MC. He later published a semi-hostile biography of his father in two volumes: *Rules of the Game* and *Beyond the Pale*.

Max's other half-brother Michael was aged 7 when war broke out, and by the end of the war was at Eton. In contrast, for a short while Max and his elder brother Alex were taught in Ireland by a private tutor. From 1953 to 1955 he joined Alex at a school in Germany run by a friend of Winifred Wagner, the English-born daughter-in-law of the composer Richard Wagner and staunch national socialist. During the mid-1950s Mosley's political movement was electorally dormant but won the support of numerous intellectuals who contributed to his journal *The European* (edited by Lady Mosley), and he had considerable influence in European nationalist circles including Germany, where he was close to leaders of the postwar nationalist movement such as Werner Naumann and Adolf von Thadden.

At this stage, Max and Alex were too young for politics but as typical 1950s teenagers not too young to embarrass their parents! Both were expelled from their German school in 1955. Max ended up at Millfield, a frequent destination for dissident public schoolboys, but at 16 left to spend a couple of years in London where he was educated at a "crammer", spending most of his time around the rock and roll scene of that era. A youth subculture known as "teddy boys" was to some extent affiliated to UM: with his parents mostly resident in Paris, Max's partying was probably seen as beneficial to the movement.

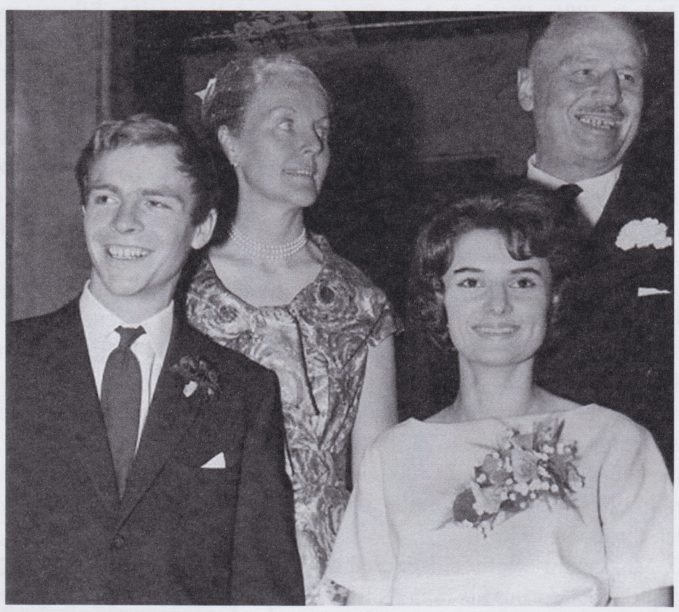
Despite his unorthodox schooling, Max managed to win a place at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1958 to study physics. His admission was probably due to his parents' friendship with the Christ Church economics don Roy Harrod, who was no fascist but like Mosley had been an ardent disciple of John Maynard Keynes. Harrod was a liberal but commendably unstuffy about his political friends – for example corresponding regularly with the Soviet spy Guy Burgess even after his escape to Moscow in 1951.

At Oxford Max was more accomplished on the social and political scene than at his studies, though he did not become active in Oxford Union politics until his second year, suggesting that he had no illusions about political careerism. Just before the start of this second Oxford year he joined Alex in campaigning for his father's candidature at North Kensington in the 1959 general election. Though he had been an MP for eleven years during the 1920s and '30s, this was Sir

Oswald Mosley's first parliamentary candidature since 1931 when he had lost his seat at Smethwick. It was not a success. Mosley underestimated the continuing handicap of wartime stigma, and overestimated the extent to which White voters had been radicalised by racial problems in the area (the constituency included what was then a black ghetto area in Notting Hill, scene of serious riots in 1958). Mosley finished bottom of the poll with 2,621 votes (7.5%) – a good vote for a fringe party in that era (especially one labelled as 'fascist'), but great disappointment for a man who had once been a government minister and potential national leader. Other UM candidates at the 1959 election fared far worse.

Max Mosley chooses not to discuss one particular UM activist whom he and his brother knew well: the slightly shady businessman Sid Proud, whose travel agency was used as a front for Mosley's couriers to travel on political missions to various European countries, probably with the knowledge and approval of the British security and intelligence services. Max's brother Alex was closely involved with Sid Proud's daughter at one time, and this contributed to a party dispute, with Mr Proud angry that his daughter had been exploited and that Sir Oswald and Lady Mosley didn't think she was good enough to marry their son.

The fact was that Alex was losing interest in politics and becoming more of a typical 1960s rebel (though in later years he was loyal to his father's memory and sometimes escorted Lady Mosley to veterans' events organised by the Friends of Oswald Mosley). With the financial backing of his half-brother Nicholas, he emigrated to Chile for several years. Alex died in 2005: his son Louis was a Conservative councillor in the Royal Borough of Kensington & Chelsea from 2011 to 2014, and worked for the Conservative MP Rory Stewart.



***(foreground)* Max Mosley and his wife Jean on their wedding day in 1960. *(background)* Max's parents Lady Mosley and Sir Oswald Mosley, who had been jailed a month after his birth in 1940**

Soon after the disappointment of his father's 1959 election defeat, Max began his second year at Oxford, and in the spring of 1960 began attending Oxford Union debates, partly motivated by friends having warned him that his father's notoriety would mean he would be ostracised. Max naturally saw this as a challenge, and as it turned out had little trouble being accepted even by "anti-fascists". He was accepted into a semi-secret dining society known as the P Club (more formally the Pythic Club) based in Christ Church. In those days (more than today) such clubs and networks were important for any aspiring Oxford politician, and the P Club had an illustrious heritage with former members such as the late Victorian Prime Minister Lord Salisbury. Members included dons as well as students: a P Club member in Max's day was the leading historian and wartime MI6 officer Hugh Trevor-Roper.

These contacts doubtless helped Max's progress in the Oxford Union, where he was elected Secretary for the Hilary Term of 1961. President of the Union that term was future Labour MP and television producer Phillip Whitehead: Max had even more remarkable left-wing friends around this time such as Paul Foot, son of the diplomat Hugh Foot and nephew of Labour leftwinger Michael Foot. Paul later became one of Britain's leading Trotskyists, but was a close Oxford friend of Max Mosley!

Despite such associations Max remained involved with his father's Union Movement, which was now entering the final period of Mosleyite revival. In the autumn of 1961, just after Max had graduated from Oxford (though remaining active in the university's political and social scene), he acted as election agent for the UM candidate Walter Hesketh in a parliamentary by-election for Manchester Moss Side. Younger readers will be surprised to learn that Moss Side (now one of the country's most notorious black ghetto areas) was in those days still a Conservative seat (and remained so until 1974), though it was beginning to change and a corner of the constituency was already darkening.

This by-election campaign (the first that Mosley's movement had contested since 1940) was not without incident: Max had to seek a court summons against the returning officer to get UM's nomination papers accepted! (The returning officer in question – then Lord Mayor of Manchester – was a right-wing Tory and solicitor, Sir Lionel Biggs, later struck off by the Law Society for "unbefitting conduct" over a client's will.) One press report of the campaign said that UM agent Mosley "looks like an intellectual Adam Faith" (referring to a famous pop idol of that time). UM candidate Walter Hesketh was a former Manchester policeman and international long-distance runner who had represented England at athletics more than thirty times, and had been appointed North of England organiser for UM. He obtained a respectable 5.2% in the by-election.

1962 was to prove a significant year for post-war Mosleyites, and Max's father again became the target of political violence from a revived alliance of Jews and Communists known as the 62 Group. (One leading 62 Group thug was Gerry Gable, present day editor of *Searchlight*.) By now Max was a trainee barrister, and occasionally put his legal training to use on behalf of the party, for example applying for an injunction against Manchester councillor and 62 Group operative Peter Grimshaw. He also had a brush with the other side of the law, after the 62 Group attacked his father during an East London UM rally at Ridley Road, Dalston in July 1962. Max was arrested and charged with threatening behaviour after stepping in to defend his father, who was then aged 65.

Max pleaded not guilty and was acquitted after telling the court: "It was not only my right but my plain duty to go to his assistance." This was actually his second brush with the law on political charges, having previously been arrested following a minor scuffle with left-wingers outside the South African Embassy in March 1961. Neither case prevented Max from being accepted as a pupil in Lord Hailsham's barristers' chambers, though eventually he abandoned the law for a career in motor racing.

There was speculation that Max would be UM candidate at the Leyton by-election in January 1965, which was intended to provide a political comeback for Patrick Gordon Walker, the Labour Foreign Secretary defeated in a racially charged 1964 general election campaign at Smethwick. In the event UM did not contest the by-election, which became most famous in nationalist circles for a punch-up at a Labour meeting involving Mosley's rival Colin Jordan.

In fact by this stage Max had already decided to withdraw from politics, influenced by several factors including a further violent assault by anti-fascists in 1962 and an official investigation into his service with the Territorial Army Parachute Regiment. He writes that his interest in politics "gradually declined. I wanted above all to go motor racing, my spare time was taken up with the TA and, though still sympathetic to my father's ideas, they seemed to me increasingly unlikely ever to be relevant in the real world. I remained on excellent terms with him, but by late 1963 I was working for my Bar finals and

Max Mosley (*right*) with Tony Blair, then Leader of the Opposition, at Silverstone for the British Grand Prix in 1996. Blair's Labour Party soon after this event solicited a £1 million donation from Mosley's motor racing partner Bernie Ecclestone, leading to major political scandal a year later.

destined to take no further part in his politics. My father decided to stand for parliament one last time at the 1966 general election but I did not get involved or visit the constituency. He realised I had moved on and never held it against me."

That last parliamentary campaign by the 69-year-old Sir Oswald Mosley was in the East London constituency of Shoreditch and Finsbury, where he polled 4.6%. By then his Union Movement was winding down, though Mosley was to have one last spell of media prominence at the end of the '60s after publishing his autobiography. Max and his wife Jean (who had married during his Oxford student days) remained regular visitors to his parents in Paris and usually holidayed with them, where they were social acquaintances of the Duke and Duchess of Windsor, themselves in effective political exile since the Duke's abdication from the British throne in 1936.

After his father's death in 1980, Max again briefly considered a political career (having long ago accepted that during his father's lifetime this would not be practical). A very different set of family connections seemed likely to assist: in 1982 he was introduced to former Conservative Prime Minister Harold Macmillan at Chatsworth, the Derbyshire stately home of his aunt Debo (Duchess of Devonshire), youngest sister of Lady Mosley.

The Duke of Devonshire (whose sister Lady Dorothy Cavendish had been Macmillan's wife until her death in 1966) had a hereditary influence in the Conservative Party, though like Macmillan he was no fan of Margaret Thatcher. Macmillan had been an ally of Oswald Mosley at the start of the 1930s, and though he never had the slightest attraction to fascism, he had considered joining Mosley's New Party after its split from Labour in 1931. Though Macmillan was a Tory, he shared Mosley's interest in Keynesian solutions to unemployment. Had he led a pro-Keynesian breakaway from the Tory party and allied with Mosley's New Party, the history of inter-war Britain could have been very different.

In May 1930, following Mosley's resignation as a Labour minister over the government's rejection of his Keynesian economic proposals, Macmillan wrote to *The Times* in his support, suggesting that the traditional rules of party politics were now redundant and adding: "if these rules are to be permanently enforced, perhaps a good many of us will feel that it is hardly worth while bothering to play at all. Sir Oswald Mosley thinks the rules should be altered. I hope some of my friends will have the courage to applaud and support his protest."

More than fifty years later, having in the interim been Prime Minister for almost seven years, the 88-year-old Macmillan sat down at Chatsworth to discuss the 42-year-old Max Mosley's political future. The latter writes:

Macmillan's view was that no serious figure in politics would mind in the least who my father was and he thought that no voter would care, either. I later came to think he was almost certainly right but that the people in between – those who decide whether or not you get a seat – might be more of a problem. There was also the risk that my opponents would drag my father into any controversy.

Max nevertheless decided to make the attempt, and at the end of 1982 temporarily stepped aside from his motor racing work in an attempt to build a political career. His first efforts as a Tory campaign volunteer involved assisting Tory candidate Robert Hughes at the Bermondsey by-election in February 1983. This was a no hope campaign for the Tories, made worse by a huge tactical vote for the Liberal candidate Simon Hughes, who defeated Labour left-winger Peter Tatchell after a campaign marred by controversy over Tatchell's private life. (I understand that while Tatchell's homosexuality became a campaign issue, at least two of the other candidates were secretly of similar persuasion: Simon Hughes and the NF candidate Jim Sneath.)

Max first encountered motor racing during an Easter vacation visit to Silverstone in 1961 and the sport came to dominate his life. A large part of this book covers his growing involvement in the administration of Formula One, where after 1971 he became right-hand man to the leading figure in the sport, used car tycoon Bernie Ecclestone. It is clear from this book that Max Mosley can be credited with many improvements in driver safety, both in the design of cars and tracks. There can be little doubt that he is personally responsible for saving many drivers' lives, as well as enhancing the worldwide media profile of motor racing.

Despite having renounced a political career, Mosley's role in motor racing inevitably led to high level political contacts. For example in 1994 he insisted on changes to the track at the Italian Grand Prix venue Monza, which were resisted by local political authorities. When these authorities failed to meet his deadline for the necessary changes, Mosley threatened to cancel the Italian Grand Prix, prompting a serious government crisis and long negotiations with Prime Minister Berlusconi. At the eleventh hour a deal was reached.

The front page of Britain's best-selling newspaper in March 2008 – it was later admitted that the "nazi" reference was invented to justify a story that would otherwise have been an invasion of privacy. Max Mosley's successful legal action against the paper helped transform Britain's media regulations.

In 1991 Mosley had been elected President of the world motor racing body FISA, and in 1993 took over as President of the wider organisation FIA. A decade after abandoning his Tory ambitions, this role led to close contacts with the Labour Party leadership. First Mosley met with Labour leader John Smith via Smith's aide David Ward, who was an amateur racing driver. Following Smith's death in 1994, Ward took a job with Mosley and Ecclestone, working in FIA's Brussels office.

Ward introduced Mosley to the Labour Party's fundraising 1000 Club: he joined the party and became friendly with new leader Tony Blair. By 1996 it was obvious that Labour would win the next election and Blair would be Prime Minister: his right-hand man Jonathan Powell approached Mosley and Ecclestone (via Ward) soliciting a £1 million donation to the party's coffers. At a meeting in the Houses of Parliament later that year, Blair's chief fundraiser Lord Levy directly asked Ecclestone for the £1 million: he at first refused, but then made the donation a few months before the 1997 election.

This Ecclestone cash led to a great political storm later that year, when it was wrongly alleged that it was in some way linked to the issue of tobacco sponsorship, which had ceased in British motor racing during the 1970s. There was a continuing issue however over a proposed Europe-wide ban on tobacco sponsorship and advertising across all sport, including Formula One. Against this background – and despite Labour fundraisers continually pursuing Ecclestone for additional donations – the political standards watchdog ordered Labour to give back the initial £1 million.

Mosley insists that Ecclestone was unfairly treated by the media in this affair, as it was implied that he had set out to inject 'dirty' money into British politics so as to influence the decision on tobacco advertising, whereas in fact it was the Labour Party that had pursued him for cash, without any suggestion of a tobacco link. Mosley himself remained a Labour Party member until Blair's invasion of Iraq in 2003: he then quit the party, and attended the great anti-war demonstration in Hyde Park.

Several years after the Ecclestone donation row, Mosley himself was the target of a media-confected scandal. In March 2008 the *News of the World* – then Britain's best-selling newspaper – carried a front page exclusive, complete with sensational photographs, of Max Mosley and five ladies, headlined: "F1 Boss Has Sick Nazi Orgy with 5 Hookers". As was later admitted, the "nazi" aspect of this story was a pure invention, inserted to provide "public interest" justification for a story that would otherwise have no legal justification for invasion of privacy.

Mosley remains mystified as to the paper's motives, since he had never had any dispute with its owner Rupert Murdoch. One assumes that it might have been connected in some way to matters inside the motor racing world, which can involve very large sums of money. It turned out that one of the five women involved was the wife of a former Royal Marine who did surveillance work for MI5: he had arranged for the encounter with Mosley to be filmed and passed to Murdoch's journalists. There is no suggestion that MI5 was itself involved in the affair, and they dismissed him when it came to light.

By taking successful legal action against the News of the World, and pursuing further campaigns for privacy against media intrusion, Max Mosley has made a major contribution to the development of press regulation in the UK, a process that is still developing after the inquiry chaired by Lord Justice Leveson. It is for this, alongside his work to improve the safety of Formula One, that Max Mosley will be remembered. This book leaves the impression of a man who could have made a significant contribution to British politics, had we lived in better times. Though only a small proportion of the book deals directly with party politics, *H&D* readers will find considerable interest in this story of how a good bloke sought to improve a bad world.

Reviewed by Peter Rushton, Manchester, England

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2016 London and Local Elections report

This year's elections were a disaster of historic proportions for the British nationalist movement, forcing a serious re-think of our whole strategy and organisation. In our capital city we saw the worst nationalist result in the history of the London mayoralty and GLA. There are three sections of the London election: the mayoral vote allows voters to express two preferences, thus removing the 'wasted vote' obstacle that holds back smaller parties in most British elections; the GLA constituency section is similar to the usual 'first past the post' system, so in practice can only be won by Labour or Conservative candidates; but the GLA party list system offers a genuine chance for nationalists or other smaller parties, since a seat can be won with only 5% of the vote (and was won by the BNP's Richard Barnbrook in 2008).

2012 had seemed as bad as it could get for the BNP, when its **London** mayoral candidate Carlos Cortiglia polled 1.3% and its GLA list 2.1% – but this year was a lot worse, with the mayoral vote falling to 0.5% and the list vote to 0.6%. Back in 2008 the BNP polled 5.4% in the GLA election and won a seat. In just eight years the party's vote in the capital has collapsed to microscopic levels: eight of every nine votes have been lost. The tragedy is that many BNP activists, including mayoral candidate Dave Furness, are decent people – but they are now flogging a dead horse for the benefit of a crooked national leadership interested only in milking donations and potential legacies.

This year the BNP was easily outvoted in London by the anti-Islamic party Britain First, which had benefited from extraordinary levels of media coverage over the past couple of years, although even these Britain First results are poor by all previous nationalist standards: 1.2% for the mayoralty and 1.5% for the GLA list. Contrary to earlier false rumours online, both Britain First and the BNP were beaten by fringe parties such as Women's Equality and George Galloway's Respect. The BNP also lost to the likes of "Cannabis is Safer than Alcohol", the Animal Welfare Party and the Christian People's Alliance.

Remarkably the BNP was badly beaten even in the very few areas of London where the party has a functioning branch. For example in **Bexley & Bromley** (the BNP's strongest area in terms of members and activists) they won a mayoral vote of only 0.6% compared to Britain First's 1.9%, and a list vote of 0.8% compared to Britain First's 2.4%.

The astonishing collapse of the BNP since its 2008 GLA victory is most evident in the party's former flagship borough, **Barking & Dagenham**, where the slate headed by Richard Barnbrook finished second to Labour in 2008 with 24.8%: this year the BNP slate polled only 1.6%. The disaster here could only partly be explained by the rise of UKIP (who increased their vote from 3.0% in 2008 to 16.0% this year) and the appearance of Britain First (who polled 3.3% this year). Clearly many of the Barking & Dagenham voters who helped elect Barnbrook to the GLA in 2008 and twelve BNP borough councillors in 2006, simply voted for no-one in 2016.

Paul Golding with his Britain First GLA election team (*above*) and at the declaration of the mayoral result (*below*) when Golding controversially turned his back while Sadiq Khan's victory was declared. Golding is flanked by Conservative mayoral candidate Zac Goldsmith and Green candidate Sian Berry.

In Barnbrook's own former ward of Goresbrook – once among the party's strongest wards in the entire country – the BNP's GLA list vote fell from 34.4% in 2008 to 2.5% this year, with Britain First taking 3.8% and UKIP 21.2%.

Paul Golding's party might win a few recruits from the BNP now, having achieved more than double the BNP's vote in London – there was speculation that former London BNP organiser Steve Squire would join BF, but Golding hypocritically rejected him due to his BNP past – but it is difficult to see how it can contribute to the broader nationalist cause, especially as Britain First fought no elections outside the capital.

Earlier this year the BNP made the fatuous announcement that the party was now concentrating its resources only on council seats that were thought winnable. The truth was that they were desperate to find candidates in any branch that could summon up the resources, but this amounted to only seven candidates in the entire country outside London.

The only truly winnable seat was Marsden ward, **Pendle**, home of Brian Parker – the only surviving BNP councillor in Britain. John Rowe was narrowly defeated this year in his latest bid to join Cllr Parker – losing to the Conservatives by just 36 votes and polling 437 votes (36.4%).

Predictably this was by far the best nationalist result this year. Elsewhere BNP candidates were heavily defeated, even when (as in Pendle) they had no UKIP opposition. Despite UKIP's absence, Chris Barnett was badly beaten in Gannow ward, **Burnley** – a ward which the BNP once won. He finished a distant third with 113 votes (8.8%). The final nail in the coffin of Burnley BNP was the crushing defeat of Chris Vanns in Rosegrove with Lowerhouse ward, where the BNP won a seat in 2002 and tied with Labour in 2007: Vanns was bottom of the poll with 45 votes (3.8%). UKIP still hold just one seat in Burnley: Hapton with Park, which was once the strongest BNP ward in the country and now has two Labour councillors, one UKIP. This seat was gained by Labour in 2012, then lost to UKIP in 2015 after the Labour councillor stepped down: so this year's technical UKIP 'gain' was actually retention of a seat they had held for the past year.

The BNP's only candidate in Yorkshire this year – Chris Houston in Kingstone ward, **Barnsley** – had no UKIP opponent and managed a decent 198 votes (11.0%), though this was well down on BNP votes in the same ward back in 2007 and 2008.

Another acceptable BNP vote was achieved by Bill Kitchen who polled 200 votes (7.6%) in the St Peter's ward of **Tameside**: one of only two BNP candidates in Greater Manchester this year. He had no UKIP opponent, but finished bottom of the poll. In nearby Reddish South ward, **Stockport**, the BNP's Ged Williams was not so lucky: he polled just 42 votes (1.3%), while UKIP finished a distant runner-up to Labour with 14%.

On a generally disastrous night, some nationalist candidates achieved respectable results, including (*left to right*) the National Front's former chairman Kevin Bryan with 128 votes (10.2%) in Irwell ward, Rossendale; English Democrat candidate (and ex-BNP deputy branch organiser) Colin Porter with 314 votes (16.6%) in Central ward, Barnsley; and the BNP's John Rowe with 437 votes (36.4%), by far the best nationalist result this year in the country's only realistic target, Marsden ward, Pendle. Other candidates had a night to forget, including Mr Rowe's BNP colleague Chris Vanns with 45 votes (3.8%) in Rosegrove with Lowerhouse ward, Burnley, previously a nationalist stronghold; ex-BNP organiser Carl Mason with only 9 votes (0.4%) as candidate of the new British Resistance party in Nunnery ward, Worcester; and *Stormfront* forum moderator Nick Walsh with just 7 votes (0.3%) as NF candidate in Bricknell ward, Hull.

In the whole of southern England (outside London) the BNP had just one candidate: John-Laurence Moore in Hayling West ward, **Havant**. This concentration of resources didn't help Mr Moore, who polled 12 votes (0.5%).

Former National Front chairman Kevin Bryan achieved the NF's best result of 2016, and proved (as with some of the BNP results) that it is still possible to manage a respectable vote when there is no UKIP opponent. Mr Bryan polled 128 votes (10.2%) in Irwell ward, **Rossendale**.

As with the BNP, the National Front was unable to compete with UKIP when both parties were standing. In Kingstanding ward, **Birmingham**, Terry Williams finished 6th of 7 candidates with 21 votes (0.5%). Elsewhere in the city his NF colleague Adrian Davidson polled 37 votes (0.8%) in Oscott ward, while Paul Morris took 46 votes (1.0%) in Sheldon ward. In Bricknell ward, **Hull**, the NF's Nick Walsh polled just 7 votes (0.3%).

Despite having UKIP opposition, the NF's Chris Jackson managed a commendable 77 votes (2.2%) in Todmorden ward, **Calderdale**. There were two NF candidates in the Derbyshire borough of **Amber Valley**: Mick Sharpe polled 15 votes (1.0%) in Ripley & Marehay, and Tim Knowles 14 votes (1.2%) in Langley Mill & Aldercar.

At the Scottish Parliament election, NF chairman Dave MacDonald finished 9th of 12 on the regional list for **NE Scotland**, polling 617 votes (0.1%). In the Welsh Assembly election the NF list for the **SE Wales** region polled 429 votes (0.2%). In the only nationalist campaign at GLA constituency level in London, NF veteran Richard Edmonds knew he was unlikely to make much impact against UKIP, and so it proved: he polled 1,106 votes (0.6%) in **Croydon & Sutton**.

On a generally grim night, one of the more respectable national results was achieved by Dr Jim Lewthwaite of the British Democratic Party, who managed to defeat both the Lib Dems and the Greens in Wyke ward, **Bradford**. Dr Lewthwaite polled 89 votes (2.8%). Elsewhere in Bradford, independent Lynda Cromie regained the Queensbury ward seat that she once held for the BNP. Mrs Cromie joins her husband Paul (a local millionaire and former BNP organiser) as a Queensbury independent councillor. Neither of the Cromies has had any connection with the nationalist movement for several years.

The new British Resistance party was no exception to the rule of nationalists being crushed by UKIP – even while UKIP itself failed to make significant gains. One of the party's leaders, ex-BNP organiser Carl Mason, polled 9 votes (0.4%) in Nunnery ward, **Worcester**. His colleague Linda Bell polled 16 votes (1.4%) in Gorse Hill ward, while Alan Draper managed 6 votes (0.4%) in St John ward.

In Barton ward, **Salford**, the new party's candidate Wayne Tomlinson took 17 votes (0.7%), while his colleague Eddy O'Sullivan (previously a frequent BNP candidate) polled just 9 votes (0.4%) in Swinton South, where he was beaten by the English Democrats as well as UKIP.

Former BNP candidate Paul Hilliard managed a respectable 127 votes (3.2%) standing as an Independent in Chaddesden ward, **Derby**.

The English Democrats have for several years offered a respectable political home to several former BNP members who are not allowed into UKIP (even had they wished to join). Most of these ex-BNP folk have now dropped out of frontline activity with the EDs, having failed to dent UKIP supremacy: most ED members are now people who have never been in a racial nationalist party and who have a particular concern with the constitutional issue of an English Parliament.

In Besses ward, **Bury**, one of the English Democrats' most dedicated activists Steve Morris (never associated with the BNP) polled 280 votes (11.5%): he clearly benefited from the absence of UKIP in his ward, but even so this was a good result. UKIP's absence didn't save fellow ED Dr Paul Rimmer (ex-BNP) from a drubbing in the **Liverpool** mayoral election, where he finished bottom of the poll with 2.7%. At the simultaneous Liverpool City Council elections Dr Rimmer polled 1.5% in St Michael's ward, while Michael Lane took 3.2% in Riverside ward and Steve McEllenborough 4.1% in Warbreck ward: none had UKIP opponents.

Nuneaton & Bedworth (once a West Midlands BNP stronghold) had two ED candidates: Stephen Paxton in Attleborough ward polled 1.6% and David Lane in Bede ward 2.3%.

ED leader Robin Tilbrook faced an unusual three-cornered fight against Conservative and UKIP candidates in his usual ward, High Ongar, Willingale & The Rodings, **Epping Forest**, where he polled 7.5%. In **Barnsley** most of the former BNP branch led by Ian Sutton, who had put up impressive local slates since joining the EDs five years ago, did not stand this year. However ex-BNP deputy organiser Colin Porter in Central ward achieved the EDs' best result of 2016: 314 votes (16.6%), of course without UKIP opposition. Meanwhile Justin Saxton in Hoyland Milton ward polled 5.2% and Kevin Riddiough in Rockingham ward 5.0% (both with UKIP opponents).

The second best ED result also benefited from UKIP's absence: Kevin Raftery in Town ward, **Newcastle-under-Lyme**, polled 15.3%. UKIP once had high hopes in Newcastle-under-Lyme, which is adjacent to the former BNP stronghold Stoke-on-Trent, but there was a serious internal split in the UKIP branch last year, and it was no surprise to see zero gains in 2016.

Both ED candidates in **Maidstone** faced UKIP opposition: ex-NF candidate Gary Butler polled 4.1% in Shepway North, and Timothy Raymen 1.2% in Shipway South (which was won by UKIP).

Also in UKIP's shadow were ED candidates John Barrow with 2.7% in Cippenham Green ward, **Slough**, and ex-NF member Chris Newey with 1.9% in Rushall-Shelfield ward, **Walsall**.

The EDs had talked about contesting all of the Police & Crime Commissioner elections but eventually had just four candidates. Toni Bugle in **Bedfordshire** polled 6.1% (comparing quite favourably with UKIP's 10.3%); ED co-founder Steve Uncles (who is still facing a court case for alleged electoral offences in a previous campaign) took 3.1% (down from 5.3%) in **Kent**; David Allen managed 6.9% (down from 15.6%) in **South Yorkshire**; and Therese Muchewicz 3.9% in **West Yorkshire**.

Although UKIP's presence was sufficient to push almost all racial nationalist parties into insignificance this year, its own results were quite disappointing. 58 UKIP councillors were elected out of a total 2,769 seats up for election across England and Wales this year, amounting to a net gain of 25. The party once again failed to win any seats in **Oldham**, where their closest second-place was achieved by an Asian candidate in Waterhead ward. In **Dudley**, expected to be one of UKIP's strongest boroughs, they gained just one seat. Yet again there seems to be an East/West rather than North/South divide where UKIP is concerned, with its successes heavily concentrated in parts of Eastern England, while failing to make any breakthrough in the North West, and enjoying only slight success in the West Midlands.

Six new councillors (*above*) joined the UKIP group in Thurrock, a council on the Essex-London border which is one of the very few areas where Nigel Farage's party has a real chance of sharing power.

The biggest UKIP disappointment was in **Rotherham**, where horrendous child abuse scandals led to the powers of the local Labour council being suspended in 2015. All 63 seats on the council were up for re-election this year, with UKIP already having established itself with 12 seats as the opposition to Labour. Yet despite some of the worst scandals ever seen in English local government, and despite UKIP having no competition from the BNP, NF or any other such party for the anti-Labour vote, UKIP made only two gains, barely scratching the surface of Labour's dominance.

Another UKIP target (and like Rotherham a council where the BNP once held seats) was **Thurrock**, on the Essex-London border. UKIP won their first seat here in 2012, adding five more in the 2014 elections (which coincided with European parliamentary elections and therefore produced significant UKIP gains nationwide). Last year Thurrock was one of UKIP's greatest successes, with a further seven gains leaving the party with 13 councillors and holding the balance of power on a hung council. During 2015 two of these UKIP councillors left or were suspended from the party: one of these remains on the council as an Independent.

UKIP made a further four net gains in Thurrock this year, so even accounting for their internal troubles they now have 17 councillors, the same as the Conservatives, with the former ruling Labour group now down to 14, and one remaining independent councillor (formerly UKIP). It is still unclear what type of deal can be done to secure a ruling coalition, though obviously one possibility would be a UKIP-Tory alliance. Perhaps the situation will not be resolved until after the EU referendum vote.

Continuing the pattern of relative UKIP strength in Eastern England, there were three gains in **Basildon**, a council adjacent to Thurrock. UKIP gained eleven seats here in 2014, and another in a subsequent by-election, adding two more in 2015 – but as in many other areas the party has suffered more than its share of internal splits. The three gains this year leave UKIP with ten Basildon councillors, while there are two who were originally UKIP but now represent the splinter group 'An Independence from Europe'. A minority Conservative administration will probably survive without UKIP support.

The bottom line is that even in its three strongest target areas – Thurrock, Basildon and Rotherham – UKIP will remain shut out of power. Four gains in **Great Yarmouth** mean that UKIP is now the second largest party on that council: readers will be unsurprised to learn that yet again there are two independents who were originally UKIP but then fell out with their colleagues.

Following boundary changes the entire council in **Rochford** – another Essex borough – was up for election, but despite three gains in 2014 (followed inevitably by one defection) UKIP has never made quite the same impact here as in Thurrock or Basildon. This pattern continued in 2016, with UKIP winning four seats on the new council.

Peterborough where the entire council was up for election this year due to boundary changes: and with significant racial tension in the town, UKIP might have hoped that anti-immigration voters would deliver substantial gains, though they were only able to field 28 candidates for 60 vacancies. UKIP had held four seats on the old Peterborough council, but won only two on the new one – strangely interpreted by "anti-fascists" *Hope not Hate* as a net UKIP gain of two!

On **Adur** council in West Sussex, UKIP consolidated their position as the main opposition party to the ruling Conservative group. Two former Tories who had defected to UKIP retained their seats and there was one further gain, so UKIP now has seven Adur councillors. Bizarrely the *Hope not Hate* website which is paid to monitor and oppose UKIP reported this as three UKIP gains in "West Suffolk": there is no such council.

A rare UKIP success in North West England saw two gains in **Bolton**, which now has a five-strong UKIP group, but even in the BNP's absence there were frankly poor UKIP results in some traditional nationalist northern target wards: 23.7% in Royton North, **Oldham** (less than the BNP polled in 2002); 26.6% in Mill Hill ward, **Blackburn** (won by the BNP in 2002); and 20.9% in Illingworth & Mixenden ward, **Calderdale** (won by the BNP in 2004, 2006 and 2008).

We can summarise the lessons of the 2016 elections as follows:

- there is really nothing left of the BNP, which less than a decade ago was a serious electoral force;
- occasional nationalist candidates without UKIP opposition can achieve respectable votes;
- UKIP is strong enough almost everywhere to overshadow any nationalist challenge, but not strong enough to make a real electoral breakthrough itself – in many former nationalist strongholds UKIP has failed to make any progress at all, and is polling fewer votes than the BNP achieved just a few years ago.

This year's referendum on European Union membership, coinciding with a "far right" surge in several European countries, is likely to prove a turning point in British politics. It is a tragedy that the British nationalist scene is so weak and fragmented that (at present) we would be unable to exploit any opportunities arising from the fading of the UKIP phenomenon.

Peter Rushton, Manchester, England

Labour leader and ex-mayor run foul of the Anti-Semitism police

For decades Labour politicians in the UK have been in the vanguard of campaigns to close down debate on racial questions. Labour-dominated parliaments passed the Race Relations Acts of 1965 and 1976, strengthened by the Race Relations Amendment Act 2000, and finally the Equality Act 2010. Nationalist speakers and publications – including *Heritage and Destiny* – have constantly to be aware of legal restrictions on our freedom to speak or write publicly about racial questions.

So it has been amusing to see the Labour Party itself in recent weeks facing increasingly shrill allegations about "anti-semitism". Many of the party's difficulties are linked to the vast increase in Britain's Muslim population, concentrated in certain cities where Muslims have effectively taken over many Labour Party branches (just as in an earlier generation many Labour areas were taken over by Irish Catholics).

Compounding Labour's problem is the tendency (dating back to the late 1960s) for a certain section of the White Left to view Palestine as part of its gallery of favoured Third World causes. A leading representative of this tendency was Ken Livingstone, who became leader of the Greater London Council from 1981 until the GLC's abolition in 1986; later returning as Mayor of London from 2000 to 2008. While the general public mostly remembers "Red Ken's" support for Irish republicanism and blacks/gays/lesbians, leading Labour Zionists were always aware of his hostility to the State of Israel.

The latest "anti-semitism" scandal began with allegations about hostility to Jews in the Oxford University Labour Club, whose Jewish co-chairman resigned. As this inquiry was starting, there were revelations that Naz Shah (elected last year as Labour MP for the very Muslim constituency of Bradford West) had previously posted anti-Israeli messages on Facebook, including an image originally posted by anti-Zionist Jewish academic Norman Finkelstein suggesting that Israel's Jewish population could be relocated to the USA.

In the "thought police" climate engendered partly by Labour itself, this Facebook post was deemed 'antisemitic' and Ms Shah was forced to resign as parliamentary aide to one of Labour's senior spokesmen. Further suspensions followed, as various mostly Muslim Labour councillors around the country were found to have committed similar Facebook 'crimes'.

But by far the greatest scandal was caused by Ken Livingstone, who gave an interview defending Naz Shah's original post (which the MP herself had disowned) and making allegations that pre-war Zionists had been allies of Adolf Hitler:

"Let's remember, when Hitler won his election in 1932 his policy then was that Jews should be moved to Israel. He was supporting Zionism. [He then] went mad and ending up killing 6 million Jews. But the simple fact in all of this is that Naz made these comments at a time when there was another brutal Israeli attack on the Palestinians. And there is one stark fact that virtually no one in the British media ever reports: in almost all these conflicts the death toll is usually between 60 and 100 Palestinians killed for every Israeli. Now any other country doing that would be accused of war crimes, but it's like we have a double standard about the policies of the Israeli government." Within hours Livingstone was suspended from the Labour Party and was confronted outside a radio studio by fellow Labour MP John Mann, a well-known (gentile) Zionist, who was filmed shouting at the former Mayor: "You're a lying racist. A Nazi apologist. You're a disgusting Nazi apologist, Livingstone."

A wider internal enquiry into 'anti-semitism' within the party was set up, headed by the leftwing 'civil liberties' campaigner Shami Chakrabarti. But what about the tangle of truth and falsehood contained in Livingstone's original comments? Were some Zionists allied to the Third Reich? And how should this affect today's British nationalists as we try to deal with the tragic outcome of successive governments' policies in the Middle East? Read the next *H&D* for a full analysis!

Peter Rushton, Manchester, England

YOUR HERITAGE

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Letters From Readers

Sir – Russia at the start of the 20th century was a hard nation to be living in if you were Jewish. There were laws in place barring Jews from holding public office and reports of anti-Jewish riots in several Russian towns after a charge of ritual murder was laid at their door by the Orthodox Christian Church. Here in Manchester a public meeting was held at the Town Hall in protest at the way Jews were being treated. I came across a newspaper report dated 19th November 1913 detailing the event, saying how the meeting was supported by the Bishop of Salford and the Lord Mayor of the time.

Around this time many Jewish families left Russia and headed west, and most of those who stayed behind give their support to Bolsheviks Less then ten years later they would have their day destroying the hard-line nationalists of the Black Hundred Movement and cheering the execution of the Russian Royal family in which Yakov Yurovsky, a Jewish Bolshevik played a central part. A good many of these Jewish families found homes in the East End of London: these people were the refugees of their day. I have researched newspapers of this time and gathered together a number of reports of the reaction of native Londoners.

The main response in the East End of London was the forming of the British Brothers League in 1902 . The League held a public meeting in July of that year at St George's Town Hall which is still there and is situated on Cable Street: a name now known for a major battle by communists against Oswald Mosley's right to free speech. The League's meeting was well attended and thankfully *The Times* newspaper covered much of what was said and how the meeting was conducted. There were several speakers and almost all were local. Their occupations were as follows: a shoe maker, a basket maker, a labourer and tobacconist. The chairman was a Mr Johnson who stated the aims of the British Brothers League was to bring about legislation to control the immigration of destitute aliens.

The issues and concerns that speakers spoke of were in many respects similar to those that Britons are facing today with mass immigration. It was said that aliens cause greater demand for house room and therefore drove up rents, and that there was enormous addition to school accommodation required. English working men had to pay for the education of the children of aliens who afterwards would compete in the labour market with their own children.

The speakers, a number being small business men, spoke of decline in trade, one saying the aliens could produce bread and mineral water far cheaper than the native population on account of paying less in wages and also (because of overcrowding) less rent. For rooms they paid more money, but with greater numbers to divide the rent. One speaker said that the general feeling was that there was nothing but the English going out and the Jews coming in.

Back in Russia the struggle between Royalists and communists had been won and a red terror swept across the Russian land, with a brutal suppression of criticism by the Soviet secret police. These red thugs and vandals blew up the great cathedral of Christ the Saviour close to the Kremlin. This act of destruction proved to be very unpopular with Russian folk and set new limits. Not one of the main Christian cathedrals were destroyed no more, which is why we still have St Basil Cathedral at the end of Red Square. Not surprisingly those who fled Russia were pleased that the 'anti-Semitic' rulers had been crushed and a new order was in place.

Mr Bill Williams a local Jewish historian wrote a book called *Jewish Manchester* and wrote of the far-left leaning of the local Jewish people. On page 52 he strongly suggests that hard left beliefs were installed by a group of Jewish immigrants and one gets the impression it was a team which went into the poor Jewish community at that time and pushed the communist dream. On page 130 Williams claims that in the 1930s the Young Communist League branch in Cheetham had up to 200 members and always a majority were Jewish, and on page 136 he names a number of die-hard Cheetham communists who took their anti-fascist activities in Manchester to the point of imprisonment. This page is an admission

of the violent nature of the Manchester branch of the Young Communist League during the 1930s.

In April 1937 and hundreds of miles away in London, John Smithers, a member of the British Union of Fascists from Stepney, London, was fined after being arrested when he and others attempted to break up a communist procession. A police inspector giving evidence against Smithers stated Smithers shouted "You – Yids! Not a Union Jack among you."

Today we see on our TV screens millions of poor Syrian children and adults fleeing to Europe with the aim of claiming refugee status. I ask will those Muslim refugees we view daily on our TV find a love for their new home in Europe or will many of them resent Europe due to Putin`s Russia bombing their homeland and European leaders (e.g. Angela Merkel, German Chancellor) forcing millions of Syrians to walk halfway across Europe to Germany to find a home? Will they be patriots of whatever nation they settle in, or will they be the anti-fascist thugs of tomorrow?

Yours sincerely

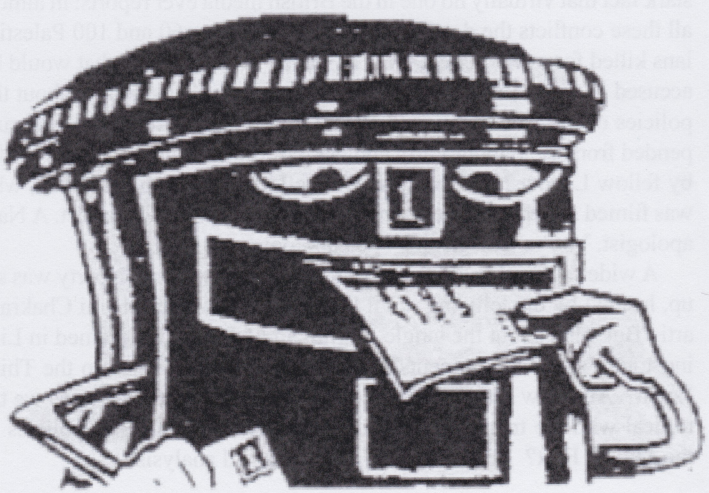
Austin Stonham, Manchester, England

Sir – I wish you luck with your project to find out what your readers think about the way ahead for nationalism.

I take it that you mean British Nationalism? The Scottish Nationalist Party has all but succeeded in taking over Scotland. Plaid Cymru represents nationalism in Wales, and the competing nationalist movements in Northern Ireland are divided between Sinn Fein and the Democratic Unionist Party. English Nationalism has never really taken off but the English Democrats are there if anybody wants them.

British Nationalists will probably protest that none of these parties are really nationalists because they are not race conscious. But nationalism does not have to be racially motivated; Benito Mussolini seized power in Italy in 1922 but he took no interest in the Jews until 1938 when he introduced the *leggi razziali* to appease his National Socialist mate north of the Alps.

Nationalism does just what it says on the tin. It's all about the nation and does not have to be racial. UKIP is a nationalist party in the literal



sense of the word, even if they, and their critics, deny it. Plenty of non-white people have supported nationalist movements in the UK and continue to do so.

Several photos show Oswald Mosley with a group of his supporters in the early 1950s, including a dark-skinned man named Otto Abeysakera. He was an active member of Union Movement of Sri Lankan origin who was totally accepted by his comrades. Mosley opposed the importation of West Indians, he warned that Third World immigration would hold down wages and aggravate an already desperate housing shortage. But British employers, including the National Health Service under Minister of Health Enoch Powell, wanted cheap labour.

The situation has deteriorated over the years. We now have millions of Afro-Asians and most of the nationalist groups in the UK are in favour of stopping immigration and starting repatriation.

The other issue is the Jews. UKIP are opposed to anti-Semitism and proscribe anybody who has ever belonged to movements such as the National Front or the BNP. When the BNP was doing well they adopted a similar approach and Nick Griffin tried to convince us that he was a reformed character. But distrust of the Jews is embedded in British Nationalism however much we deny it.

British Nationalism can therefore be described as a racist, or racialist, movement campaigning for national independence. I accept that the overwhelming majority of nationalists are opposed to the European Union, but at least some of them are closet pro-Europeans in the Mosley tradition. That too is bound to change. Whatever the result of the UK referendum the political and economic integration of Europe will continue.

I believe that there is a need for a patriotic party in the UK but we must take what we can get. We will never return to direct rule from London. The Scots, Northern Irish and Welsh have got used to self-government and the English haven't noticed the difference. We can bring in strict immigration controls but generations of non-white people born in this country consider themselves to be British and are not going anywhere. The Jews will oppose us whatever we do. They will not believe that we have turned into liberals and who could blame them? And we must accept the reality of Europe. A continent of half a billion people in sight of the white cliffs of Dover can't be ignored.

A modern party with achievable policies can succeed. We are not about to come to power but there's no reason why we can't emulate the Greens and the Liberal Democrats who exert influence way beyond their parliamentary representation. The alternative is to continue to march up the *cul-de-sac* of petty nationalism.

Yours sincerely,

Bill Baillie, Lambeth, London

Sir – I received a copy of your publication *Heritage and Destiny* in our BNP branch mail box this morning (April 19th) and would ask that you send no further copies. I read some of the articles and found the left-wing type bias towards the British National Party not only astounding but also very inaccurate.

Firstly, I would like to point out that the BNP is standing a London Mayoral candidate and a full slate of Assembly candidates as well as running two by-elections simultaneously in Pendle in the north-west and Heaton in the Havering borough of Greater London. The GLA election has been fully funded, all 330 nomination signatures have been collected and leaflets have been printed and are being delivered on a daily basis.

I find it quite amusing that you promote the likes of Britain First and British Resistance as 'nationalist' movements, when they are clearly no more than money-making populism, while the BNP remains the premier nationalist party.

At the same time our membership base is growing as well as new branches being formed and others being relaunched. The BNP is not a 'dying' party and remains the premier nationalist organisation.

Yours sincerely,

Christine Winter, organiser, Basildon BNP

Assistant Editor replies: We assume that an H&D *distributor kindly passed on a copy to Ms Winter's BNP branch, hoping that it was not too late to enlighten even those few activists still blindly loyal to the rump of what was once a serious nationalist party. To start with one point of agreement: I am happy to accept (as I stated in* H&D *72) that "despite their nationwide collapse, the BNP did well to complete the arduous nominating process for the London mayoral and GLA elections".*

However that is where the good news ends. Ms Winter's insistence on the BNP's "premier" status was not reflected in the record low London results: a GLA vote of 0.6% compared to 5.4% in 2008. Had Ms Winter been a regular H&D *reader she would have known that Pendle was not (as she writes) a by-election but one of more than 2,700 council elections across England and Wales, of which the BNP contested just seven in total. There was only one BNP candidate in the whole of Yorkshire, none in the West Midlands, and just one in southern England (outside London).*

In Ms Winter's own borough of Basildon there was not a single BNP candidate this year: there were thirteen as recently as 2010. There is just one BNP councillor in the whole of the UK, whether at borough, unitary, or county level. Just seven years ago there were 58 BNP councillors, and many more areas which saw significant BNP campaigns. The only serious debate is over whether the BNP should be described as dying or already dead.

It is frankly bizarre for Ms Winter to suggest that we "promote" Britain First, when we have regularly emphasised our ideological distance from Paul Golding's party. If anything we are ideologically much closer to the (old) BNP. However the London results speak for themselves: Britain First's vote was more than double the BNP's.

As for Britain First's focus on moneymaking, perhaps Ms Winter is right. She should know, since Britain First founder Jim Dowson was the BNP's chief fundraiser for many years! Ms Winter implies a contrast between Britain First's multiracialism and a presumed racial nationalism on the BNP's part. Had she a little more experience of our movement she would remember that just a few years ago under Nick Griffin the BNP proudly advertised Sikh and black members, while her present party chairman Adam Walker married Chie Shinoda, a Japanese women.

Ms Winter mysteriously finds our analysis of the BNP "left wing". In fact it is tragic that without H&D, *nationalists would indeed have to look to left-wing and 'anti-fascist' publications such as* Searchlight *for semi-accurate information about the BNP, since it has long been the case that party publications churn out mendacious propaganda worthy of the most fraudulent religious cult.*

As with so many cult victims, decent but deluded folk such as Ms Winter have regularly denounced us, only to apologise a few years later and acknowledge our criticisms of their crooked leaders had been justified. We look forward to receiving Ms Winter's fulsome apology and subscription some time in 2017 or 2018!

Sir – What is worse; lying to Parliament about issues of war and peace? Or is it worse to make ludicrous claims about what will happen if people had the tenacity to take their democracy back? We can now see what David Cameron's renegotiations were all about. Nothing more than a ploy, to take the wind out of the sails of UKIP for the general election. What happened the last time a country voted to give up its democracy? Didn't end very well did it.

Why do you think that the centre across Europe is collapsing? Isn't it because the EU strategy of harmonisation and the liberal Establishment to keep that on track has made parties of the centre undistinguishable from each other. And isn't it not only typical but quite splendid, that as the liberal Establishment rush headlong towards their liberal dictatorship, the people in increasing numbers are turning towards the parties not of the centre?

Will the Left still be in love with Europe, when we have what they regard as far right administrations across Europe? I suspect that they will love Europe, as much as they then love CCTV or all the other anti terrorist measures, brought in by these corrupt, self-serving toe-rags, who still describe themselves as a progressive one-nation conservatives!

Yours sincerely

Paul Swindell, Oldham, Lancashire

Movement News Update

One nationalist-contested by-election took place on the same day as this year's local elections. Philip Hyde – elected as UKIP councillor for Heaton ward, **Havering**, in 2014 – had quit UKIP to sit as an independent in 2015. Earlier this year he tired of local political infighting and stood down from the council, prompting a by-election in Heaton, which covers part of the enormous Harold Hill housing estate built between 1947 and 1958 in response to London's postwar housing crisis.

This is a mostly White working-class area: the other half of Harold Hill forms the Gooshays ward where a BNP councillor was elected in 2006. As recently as 2014 BNP candidate Kevin Layzell polled 13.7% in Heaton, at the same election where Philip Hyde was one of two victorious UKIP councillors.

Two years on, not only had Mr Hyde left UKIP, Mr Layzell had left the BNP. The consequence was that each party's vote split and declined. New BNP candidate Denise Underwood managed 73 votes (2.0%, down 11.7%), while Mr Layzell (standing now for the NF) polled just 14 votes (0.4%) – he faced an uphill struggle anyway against both the BNP and UKIP, and also had to cope with a bereavement during the campaign when his father sadly died.

Meanwhile UKIP predictably fell from 38.0% to 23.2%, slipping to third place, as Labour easily gained the seat from UKIP. The same old story: division and recrimination among nationalists leads to victory for our enemies.

An Alliance for Peace and Freedom delegation visiting Syria in May 2016. Photo (*above*) includes APF president Roberto Fiore (*far left*), Golden Dawn MEP Eleftherios Synadinos (*second left*), veteran Belgian radical nationalist Hervé Van Laethem (*second right*) and NPD MEP Udo Voigt (*far right*).

On June 9th UKIP enjoyed a county council by-election victory in one of its strongest areas: Basildon's Laindon Park & Fryerns division of **Essex**. The by-election followed the death of a long-serving Labour councillor who had retained one of this division's seats in 2013 largely on his personal vote (UKIP taking the other). Without the late councillor's personal vote this looked an obvious target seat and so it proved: UKIP candidate Frank Ferguson won 43% to Labour's 34%, giving UKIP a sixth Essex county councillor. By contrast another UKIP target ward on the same day, South ward, **NE Lincolnshire**, saw an easy Labour win after UKIP's vote increased by only a fraction.

At the **Tooting** parliamentary by-election on June 16th which followed local MP Sadiq Khan's elevation to Mayor of London, Labour predictably increased their majority despite the chaotic state of the party's leadership under the far-left Jeremy Corbyn. In this multiracial South London constituency UKIP never had a hope, but even so would have been surprised to see their vote decline sharply from 2.9% to 1.6%. The English Democrat candidate Graham Moore polled just 0.2%.

On the same day as the Brexit referendum there was just one local by-election: UKIP predictably failing to make much impact in the affluent ward of Sunninghill and South Ascot, **Windsor & Maidenhead**. UKIP's vote fell from 10.3% to 8.5%. (The borough as a whole voted 54% for Remain in the referendum.)

There was some rare good news for the BNP at a parish council election for the West ward of **Heybridge** Parish Council in the Maldon district of Essex (held on May 5th). Neither *H&D* nor any other political publication normally reports on parish council elections, but we make an exception in this case. The BNP website characteristically attempts to defraud its supporters by announcing "Heybridge BNP win" (while of course ignoring the BNP defeats in real elections). The truth is that the BNP was not even mentioned anywhere on the ballot paper: local party member Jan Rablin stood (and won) under the label "Fighting Unsustainable Housing Because We Care". Mr Rablin obtained 44.7%, defeating two rivals including Anne Marie Beale, a Conservative district councillor who chose to have no party description of any kind on the ballot paper.

Such ventures are commendable ways of obtaining political experience and credibility for party activists – a useful step towards genuine election victories – but nationalist parties should not pretend that they have won an election when in fact their party name has not even been mentioned until after the election!

Parish councils tend to deal with non-partisan issues and have very limited powers – effectively not much more than a residents' association – but leftwingers in Aberdeen recently tried to insist on imposing their politically correct agenda on one such body. As previously reported in *H&D*, National Front chairman Dave MacDonald was elected last October to **Garthdee** Community Council in the Aberdeen suburbs. Four months later the Inchgarth Community Centre which had previously hosted the council's meetings terminated this arrangement – threatening to throw the council off the premises because they objected to Mr MacDonald's political views. Inchgarth Community Centre stated: "Mr MacDonald is the leader of a political party which promotes hate towards many people who would use and volunteer in the community centre."

This is a remarkably childish action which brings the community centre into disrepute. Some members of the board might well dislike Mr MacDonald's views, but cannot avoid the inconvenient fact that he was elected. Moreover there is no evidence that Mr MacDonald has behaved inappropriately to any ethnic minority resident. He understands, like every elected councillor at whatever level and from whatever party, that he has to sign up to a code of conduct which demands the following of all councillors: "You must treat others with respect and promote equality by not discriminating unlawfully against any person, and by treating people with respect, regardless of age, disability, gender reassignment, race, religion or belief, sex, sexual orientation, marriage or civil partnership, pregnancy and maternity."

Inchgarth Community Centre has not even pretended that Mr MacDonald has done anything wrong: they simply dislike his political views. It is very telling that Garthdee Community Council feels obliged to post a pro-multicultural propaganda message as the very first item on their website: such is life in brainwashed Britain. Indeed it turns out that the statement publicised in local newspapers did not even reflect the true views of Inchgarth Community Centre: the entire story had been concocted by Paul O'Connor, the ultra-PC chairman of both the council and the centre. In May 2016 Mr O'Connor resigned as council chairman, in what amounts to a victory for Mr MacDonald and the NF.

One of Mr MacDonald's predecessors as NF chairman is now aiming to reinvent his political career in yet another new direction. Nick Griffin was chairman of the NF Directorate at the time of the party's ruinous 1986 split: he later of course became chairman of the BNP from 1999 until he was ousted by former cronies in 2014. Mr Griffin no longer has a political party, but runs "British Unity", effectively little more than a Facebook and Twitter account, which is not even registered as a party with the Electoral Commission.

Mr Griffin's most lucrative affiliation is as vice-president of a pan-nationalist European group called Alliance for Peace and Freedom. As previously reported in *H&D*, the APF was founded in February 2015. Its chairman is Roberto Fiore, leader of a small and radical Italian nationalist party called *Forza Nuova* (New Force). Mr Fiore will be best remembered by *H&D* readers for his years in exile in London during the 1980s, when he was a fugitive from the corrupt Italian justice system which attempted to link his former party Nuclei Armati Rivoluzionari (*Armed Revolutionary Nuclei* – NAR) with the terrorist bombing of Bologna railway station in 1980. During the mid-1980s Mr Fiore and Mr Griffin were allies in what became the "political soldier" or "cadre" faction of the NF, later creating the International Third Position (ITP).

In addition to its Italian chairman and Mr Griffin, the APF has the support of the Greek nationalist party Golden Dawn and the militant Slovakian nationalists lead by Marian Kotleba, People's Party – Our Slovakia (LSNS), discussed in our previous issue. Another influential member is the veteran German nationalist Udo Voigt, who is the sole MEP for the NPD. Several much smaller parties are also affiliated, including *Democracia Nacional* (National Democracy, DN) from Spain; *Danskernes Parti* (Party of the Danes, DP) from Denmark, led by Daniel Carlsen who addressed the London Forum last year; the Workers Party of Social Justice (DS) from the Czech Republic, which in a previous incarnation was banned by the Czech authorities in 2010; and two small parties from the Walloon and Flemish components of Belgium.

In May 2016 there was a widely reported controversy after the European Union was found to have awarded grants to APF totalling €600,000 (£475,000 or $675,000). Leftists, liberals and conservatives in the European Parliament united to support a technical motion to remove the grant: as we go to press it is not clear whether the funds will have to be repaid. There is no suggestion that APF had acted improperly, and the reasons for withdrawing the grants are purely political.

Separate from APF there is another cross-party grouping that is slightly less radical, known as the Alliance of European Nationalist Movements (AENM). This has existed since 2009 and is presently chaired by Béla Kovács, an MEP from the Hungarian nationalist party *Jobbik*. Alongside Mr Kovács and his colleagues, the main affiliates of AENM include the Italian nationalist party *Fiamma Tricolore* (a larger rival to Mr Fiore's FN); the Blue and White Front (formerly Freedom Party) from Finland; the Slovenian National Party (SNS); and Portugal's National Renovator Party (PNR).

So Europe's "far right" – if one accepts for the sake of argument that designation for anything more radical than UKIP – is split into three separate transnational groups: the APF, the AENM and Marine Le Pen's Europe of Nations and Freedom (ENF), which includes the French National Front (FN), the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ), and the main Flemish nationalist party *Vlaams Belang* (Flemish Interest, VB). Only the ENF has the full status of a European parliamentary group: its members include in addition to Mme Le Pen's core allies in Flanders and Austria, MEPs from Italy's *Lega Nord* (Northern League, LN); the Party for Freedom (PVV) from the Netherlands, led by prominent anti-Muslim campaigner Geert Wilders; and Poland's Congress of the New Right (KNP). Group status was secured by obtaining the backing of two maverick independents from Romania and the UK (the latter being former UKIP MEP Janice Atkinson).

At the start of May 2016 Marine Le Pen's ENF made what is likely to prove its most significant alliance, signing up the German MEP Marcus Pretzell, of *Alternative für Deutschland* (Alternative for Germany, AfD). The history of Mr Pretzell and his AfD colleagues over the past three years is a truly remarkable and cheering indication of European nationalism's radicalisation.

AfD was founded in April 2013, initially as a moderate German version of UKIP, focused on calls for reform of the European Union rather than withdrawal, and with hardly any mention of immigration. Most of the seven AfD MEPs elected in 2014 shared this essentially liberal outlook: had they been British they would have fitted easily into the post-Thatcherite wing of the Conservative Party, and they duly signed up as allies of today's Conservatives in a European Parliamentary grouping called European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR), standing slightly to the right of most European conservatives who have the pro-federalist centre-right group known as the European People's Party (EPP), but to the left of UKIP and their eurosceptic allies – and certainly way to the left of Marine Le Pen's group.

Last year – partly in response to the latest immigration crisis caused by the tidal wave of "asylum seekers" from the Middle East – the AfD moved significantly to the right, and began to adopt much stronger anti-immigration policies. The party has now become better known for its stance on racial/immigration/asylum issues than for its original *raison d'être* of EU reform. New AfD leader Frauke Petry was disowned by many of the party's founders and most of its MEPs, but AfD support among German voters continued to grow.

Marcus Pretzell (one of AfD's MEPs) is the new leader's partner, having left his wife: he and his colleague Beatrix von Storch were the only AfD MEPs to remain loyal to Frauke Petry and the more radical line on immigration. In November 2015 Mr Pretzell endorsed his partner's comments about the need to defend Germany's borders against hordes of illegal immigrants, telling an interviewer: "The defence of the German border with armed force as a measure of last resort is self-evident."

In April 2016 Beatrix von Storch quit the Conservative-dominated ECR to sign up with Nigel Farage's UKIP and their continental allies in the Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy group (EFDD), which in addition to UKIP also includes the maverick anti-establishment Five Star Movement from Italy; a Czech libertarian party, Party of Free Citizens; the Lithuanian eurosceptic party Order and Justice; and the anti-Muslim party Sweden Democrats. Beatrix von Storch's defection gives Farage's group a German member for the first time. Although EFDD includes one defector from Le Pen's FN, it cannot seriously be described as "far right".

***(above left to right)* Marcus Pretzell (an MEP from the Alternative for Germany party – AfD) joins leading officials of the Europe of Nations and Freedom group after his defection from the Conservative group. Next to Mr Pretzell (*second left to far right*) fellow MEPs: Janice Atkinson (ex-UKIP); Lega Nord's Matteo Salvini; FN leader Marine Le Pen; Harald Vilimsky of the Austrian Freedom Party; and Michal Marusik from Poland's Congress of the New Right.**

By contrast Marcus Pretzell chose to leapfrog Farage's group and take two steps to the right, moving straight from the Conservative ECR to the nationalist ENF. This alliance seems to have been further cemented by discussions between Marine Le Pen and the AfD leader Frauke Petry: one assumes that Pretzell and Petry had jointly agreed the new alliance with the FN, though other senior AfD figures are not so keen. Party spokesmen have suggested that Petry might be invited as a guest speaker to the next *Front National* congress. This would be the most significant alliance between French and German nationalists since the days when Jean-Marie Le Pen and the leader of the German *Republikaner* party, former Waffen SS officer Franz Schönhuber, were friends and allies in the European Parliament from 1989 to 1994. The *Front National* has never formed alliances with more radical German nationalist parties such as the NPD.

Another international alliance recently pursued by Marine Le Pen was in Canada, where she followed earlier generations of French politicians including former President Charles de Gaulle in seeking links with French-speaking separatist groups in Quebec. Despite being predominantly French-speaking, Quebec was controlled by Britain following Gen. Wolfe's defeat of French forces in 1759 and the ensuing Treaty of Paris in 1763. During the 1960s and 1970s Quebec separatists fought a terrorist campaign against the Canadian and British authorities. More recently separatist parties (the *Bloc* and *Parti Québécois*) have had some success in winning seats both in Quebec's national assembly and in the Canadian Parliament.

During her trip to Canada in March 2016, almost all Canadian politicians refused to meet with Mme Le Pen, though she did hold a meeting with members of the youth wing of the *Parti Québécois*. For related reasons the Le Pen camp have cancelled a proposed trip to assist the "Vote Leave" referendum campaign in the UK, fearing negative publicity from being shunned by assorted Tory, Labour and UKIP figures. This illustrates one difficulty of the new Le Pen strategy of seeking "dedemonisation". If nationalist leaders themselves are seen to regard acceptance by the mainstream élite as the benchmark of "respectability", then we are potentially placing a loaded revolver in our enemies' hands. While it is perfectly sensible to avoid Hollywood-style manifestations of voter-repelling "extremism", it is pointless to prostrate ourselves before the foe, allowing the enemies of White Europe to define the parameters of debate. This calls for delicate political judgment: for some time I have feared that Mme Le Pen's advisers are pushing the FN too far in the fruitless pursuit of establishment endorsement.

Peter Rushton, Manchester, England

Austrian voters break the mould of postwar Europe

As predicted in *H&D* 72, a surge in support for the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ) humiliated both major parties in the Austrian presidential election. FPÖ candidate Norbert Hofer topped the poll with 35.1% in the first round on April 25th, by far the highest FPÖ vote in any nationwide election and the greatest electoral success for any European nationalist. The party's previous best was 27.5% in the European Parliamentary elections of 1996, closely followed by 26.9% at the 1999 general election. In this year's first round the parties of the ruling coalition were crushed: the conservative candidate finished in fifth place with only 11.1%, while his social democratic colleague was fourth with 11.3%.

A second ballot on May 22nd produced one of the closest results in electoral history: left-wing independent Alexander Van der Bellen (a retired economics professor who once led the Austrian Green Party) defeated the FPÖ's Hofer by 50.3% to 49.7%. Austria is bitterly divided: rural areas and small towns backed Hofer; big cities (and of course non-whites) backed Van der Bellen. European politics will never be the same again.

In the early 2000s the FPÖ seemed in decline. Its 1999 victories created a dilemma over whether the party should enter a coalition government, and if so what should be the role of its controversial leader Jörg Haider. Semi-ideological but largely personal factional divisions eventually resulted in Haider and his allies breaking away to form a rival party, Alliance for the Future of Austria (BZÖ). This soon fizzled out, especially after Haider's death in a 2008 car crash, but the FPÖ took several years to recover.

Norbert Hofer's campaign poster reads: "Fly the Flag: Truth, Freedom, Love for your Homeland."

Haider's successor Heinz-Christian Strache has become best known for reframing the party's anti-immigration policies as anti-Islam, dispelling some previous 'nazi' associations. A recent report by the BBC's Europe editor Katya Adler naively described a "Freedom Party makeover. Gone are the pronouncements praising the Nazis that got its former leader Jörg Haider into such trouble in the 1990s. This is a rebranded, modern Freedom Party angling for discontented voters of the political centre."

Well yes, up to a point, but Ms Adler like many non-movement journalists seems to confuse image with ideology. While Haider played up a certain image of leather jackets, sports cars and mountaineering, his ideological position was much less 'national socialist' than Strache's.

This year's presidential candidate Norbert Hofer (though only 45 years old) walks with a stick, having been semi-paralysed in a 2003 paraglider accident, so presents a very different image to Haider. Yet the likes of Ms Adler should not be confused by these questions of personal style. In fact Hofer was the main author of a party manifesto in 2011 which shifted the FPÖ back towards a pan-German traditional nationalism which had been shunned by Haider as too reminiscent of the national socialist era.

Hofer criticised the former leader for his excessive caution, describing the new manifesto as "reversal of Haider's prostration", and adding: "it looks odd when people deny their own roots". His 2011 manifesto involved a very deliberate and calculated choice to reintroduce the word *Volksgemeinschaft*, which roughly translates as cultural community based on a people or race. In postwar Austria or Germany, it is a term that 'moderate' nationalists would always avoid, since to their ears it carries national socialist implications, though of course such notions were originally associated with the liberal revolutions of 1848 which were the first (failed) attempts to create a unified German state.

This implied radicalism can be seen in the context of other symbolic gestures by Hofer which though they might not seem significant to British and American readers, have a special resonance for any Austrian nationalist. The FPÖ presidential candidate regularly used to attend party events wearing a blue cornflower on his jacket: a symbol dating back to the 1870s and 1880s and associated with the pan-German movement of Georg von Schönerer, imprisoned in 1888 for attacking the premises of a Jewish newspaper. In assessing the importance of such gestures, we should bear in mind the reasons why Austria's "far right" is linked to the country's liberal party rather than any form of ultra-conservatism.

In 1871 the great German statesman Otto von Bismarck succeeded in creating a unified German state, headed by Prussian Kaiser Wilhelm I. Even Catholic Bavaria became part of the new (majority Protestant) Germany, though centuries-old religious tensions remained. In 1866 Catholic Austria had been defeated by Prussia in a brief war: its traditional conservatives remained deeply hostile to union with Germany, loyal both to the Catholic Church and to Austria's ruling Hapsburg royal family (last remnants of a dynasty that had once dominated Europe).

Then and now there was no place for pan-German nationalists in Austrian conservatism, then known as the Christian Social Party, and since 1945 as the Austrian People's Party (ÖVP). Once divided among many factions, those Austrians who favoured a Greater Germany were often described as "national liberals". By the 1920s they had formed the Greater German People's Party (GDVP), which inherited the anti-Jewish outlook of many 19th century national liberals: many GDVP members became active national socialists after 1934.

Soon after Austria emerged from its post-1945 occupation, a three-party system developed: the Catholic conservative ÖVP; the left-wing Social Democratic (initially Socialist) Party of Austria (SPÖ); and the national liberals, initially regrouped as the Federation of Independents (VdU) in 1949, then as the Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ) from 1956 to the present day.

Right from the start the FPÖ had the support of most former national socialists and ethnic Germans who had arrived in Austria after being expelled from regions further east that had fallen under Soviet Communist control. The first FPÖ leader was Anton Reinthaller, a veteran national socialist who had been an agriculture minister during the Third Reich, where he was closely associated with the pioneer of ecological politics Walther Darré.

Despite these links the FPÖ quickly became accepted by Austria's political establishment: during the 1960s and 1970s, even though party leader Friedrich Peter was an SS veteran, it was accepted as an ally by the Social Democrats, whose Jewish leader Bruno Kreisky became Chancellor with FPÖ support. Kreisky's pragmatic attitude towards former national socialists led to a bitter split with his fellow Jew, self-promoted 'nazi hunter' Simon Wiesenthal. Meanwhile hardliners within the FPÖ broke away to form an Austrian version of Germany's NPD in the late 1960s – this Austrian NPD was eventually banned as a 'neo-nazi' threat to the constitution. It is perhaps significant that today's FPÖ leader Heinz-Christian Strache began his political activism in hardline circles: in fact his girlfriend was the daughter of the banned 'neo-nazi' NPD's leader.

We could summarise the FPÖ's development as follows: having many national socialist veterans in its original leadership, it nevertheless adopted policies acceptable to the establishment, and moved even closer to the centre during the 1970s and early '80s; then in 1986 the party was taken over by the far more radical Jörg Haider, who in turn after 2000 was challenged and eventually ousted by even more radical nationalists, unafraid of some national socialist symbolism.

These former radicals are now the FPÖ leadership, including presidential candidate Hofer. They have become mainstream essentially for two reasons: the centre has shifted rightwards on issues such as immigration, especially in the past year with Vienna on the frontline of the asylum invasion; and FPÖ leaders including Strache have grovelled to Israel in an attempt to identify themselves as allies of International Zionism in a world conflict with Islam. We might well be disgusted by Strache's visits to Yad Vashem, where anti-British terrorists as well as 'Holocaust victims' are venerated, but we should not underestimate the radicalism of the FPÖ's increasingly successful challenge to Austria's political elite.

Peter Rushton, Manchester, England